

William Henry Scott

**CRACKS
in the
PARCHMENT
CURTAIN**

**AND OTHER ESSAYS
IN
PHILIPPINE HISTORY**



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DS 668 .S36 1982

Scott, William Henry, 1921-

Cracks in the parchment curtain :
and other essays in Philippine history

Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History

(Emended Edition, with Index)

William Henry Scott



Foreword: Renato Constantino



New Day Publishers
Quezon City
1982

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1982

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Philippines

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Cover Design: Jaime A. Montero

First Impression, 1982
Second Impression (Emended Edition), 1985
Third Impression, 1994

ISBN 971-10-0073-3 (BP)
ISBN 971-10-0074-1 (NP)



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Foreword

Colonial historiography still exerts its influence on many writers of Philippine history. This is understandable, for colonial conditioning persists in diverse and subtle ways and as a consequence, too many Filipinos continue to carry the dead weight of colonial consciousness. Fortunately, we have witnessed in recent years a heartening development in the writing of history which has produced new interpretations of our past from the anti-imperialist viewpoint. Important contributions to this new trend have come from both Filipino and foreign scholars. Despite his nationality, William Henry Scott belongs more to the Filipino than to the foreign group. He has lived with Filipinos for many years and has been assiduous in unraveling many strands of our past. Moreover, he has done so not from the vantage point of Spanish colonialism or American imperialism but from that of the Filipinos' struggle for emancipation. Seeing the past from the point of view of the colonized, Dr. Scott provides the reader with valuable insights and much useful material for a deeper understanding of various periods of Philippine history and aspects of Philippine life.

The essays in this collection may appear disparate in subject but they have an underlying theme: a discussion of Philippine society for Filipinos. They demonstrate the author's abiding mission of helping Filipinos think as Filipinos.

It is high time that these essays which appeared in different publications were brought together in one volume, for in this form the reader can better appreciate the unity of purpose within the wide range of Dr. Scott's investigations into the history and life of the Filipino people he has come to love.

RENATO CONSTANTINO
February 24, 1982

Acknowledgments and Apologies

The second printing of this book provides an opportunity not only to correct typographical errors in the first edition, but to supply careless omissions, apologize for oversights, and respond to suggestions by reviewers. Most of these articles were previously published in journals whose editors are here belatedly thanked for their permission to reprint.

The title essay, "Cracks in the Parchment Curtain," was written for the Horacio de la Costa memorial issue of *Philippine Studies* 26:1-2 (1978), and "History of the inarticulate" for *Diliman Review* (July-September 1979). "The creation of a cultural minority" was originally delivered as a talk for the University of the Philippines Department of Sociology, published in *Solidarity* (May-June 1976), and reprinted as *Third World Study Series No. 4* (1978), *IXTHUS Special Issue No. 9* (1978), and a chapter in Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner's 1979 *Society, Culture and the Filipino*. "Crusade or commerce?" was written for *Kadtuntaya* 14 (1979) and reprinted in *Diliman Review* (March-April 1980), and "Filipino-Spanish face-to-face contacts 1543-1545" for the maiden issue of *Pandiwa* (July 1979) and reprinted in *Leyte-Samar Studies* 14:1 (1980). "Boat-building and seamanship in classic Philippine society" was published by the National Museum as *Anthropology Paper No. 9* (1981), but actually appeared first in *Philippine Studies* 30:3 (1982). "Filipino class structure in the 16th century" was written for the Third World Studies Center and circulated as their *Paper No. 13* (1978), and revised for *Philippine Studies* 28:2 (1980), and "Class structure in the unhispanized Philippines" was written for the Frank Lynch memorial issue of *Philippine Studies* 27:2 (1979).

"An Ilocano-Igorot peace pact of 1820" appeared in *Philippine Studies* 26:3 (1978), "Colonial whip" in *Diliman Review* (January-March 1979), and "Semper's 'Kalingas' 120 years ago" in *Philippine Sociological Review* 27:2 (1979). "The nine clergy of Nueva Segovia" was written for *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 43 (1979), and "Struggle for independence in Candon" appeared both in *Ilocos Review* 13 (1981) and *Silliman Journal* 28:3-4 (1982). "Amor patrio in the Philippine Insurgent Records"

was originally read as a paper at the Third National Local History Conference in Bacolod City (November 1980) and published in *Diliman Review* (January-February 1981); "Isabelo de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore" was read at the Fourth National Folklore Congress in Diliman (July 1980) and published in *Ilocos Review* 12 (1980); "Isabelo de los Reyes, *provinciano* and nationalist" was read at the Second International Philippine Studies Conference in Honolulu (June 1981); and "A minority reaction to American imperialism" was read at the Fourth National Conference on Local History in Cebu City (November 1982) and published in *Quarterly of Philippine Culture and Society* 10:1 (1982).

Several reviewers have recommended the inclusion of an index and bibliography. The index is accordingly added to this edition, but a meaningful bibliography would entail a prohibitive expansion of the book. "Class structure in the unhispanized Philippines," for example, was written after a year's survey of all published literature on Philippine ethnography; interested readers may therefore be referred to bibliographies I found especially useful myself—namely, Shiro Saito's *Philippine ethnography: a critically annotated and selected bibliography* (University of Hawaii 1972), Frank Lynch's "The Jesuit letters as a source of anthropological data" (*Philippine Studies* 4:2 [1956]), and W. H. Scott's "Manuscript holdings in the Dominican Archives on the pagans of northern Luzon" (*Historical Bulletin* 11:3 [1967]). Direct quotations in most of the articles are attributed to their source in footnote references, though I regret that the suppression of annotations in "History of the inarticulate" caused translations by two other historians to pass unacknowledged. These are the quotations on page 20 pertaining to Samar which were taken from chapter one of Robert Bruce Cruikshank's doctoral dissertation, "A history of Samar Island 1768-1898" (University of Wisconsin 1975), and, at the bottom of the same page, a Cavite letter published in Dennis Morrow Roth's *The friar estates of the Philippines* (University of New Mexico 1977), pp. 108-109. My apologies to these scholars.

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

Sagada, 9 June 1985

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Cracks in the Parchment Curtain

The terms "iron curtain" and "bamboo curtain" have become popular in the English-language press to signify the state control of information in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China which makes it difficult or impossible for outsiders to learn the true condition of their citizens' circumstances. Just so we might speak of a "parchment curtain" to signify the official documents of the Spanish colonial regime which prevent the modern Filipino from forming a clear picture of his ancestors' conditions. It is the existence of this parchment curtain that moved Filipino historian Teodoro A. Agoncillo to his well-taken comment that it will never be possible to write a real history of the Filipino people under Spain because the colonial government enjoyed a monopoly on the production of source materials.

Yet there are cracks in that curtain, chinks, so to speak, through which fleeting glimpses of Filipinos and their reactions to Spanish dominion may be seen. These are more often than not unintentional and merely incidental to the purpose of the documents containing them. Original letters and reports, bickering complaints among *conquistadores*, appeals for support, reward, and promotion, long-winded recommendations that were never implemented, and decrees inspired by local obstruction of government goals—all these contain direct or implied references to Filipino behavior and conditions. These insights do not generally appear in the official histories which are based on the documents. The author of a history book has the task of setting forth the end results of the events surveyed and so does not have time to cite such details as do not illustrate his point. Yet every researcher in Spanish or Philippine archives quickly learns that almost any document contains some little Filipino glimpse for which he was not looking and which did not interest the author of the document. A few examples will show just how interesting, or even significant, such details may be.

In 1971, I was searching for references to Juan de Salcedo in

the Archives of the Indies in Seville. I was writing a book on the history of Spanish contacts with the Igorots of northern Luzon and was hoping to verify a tantalizing hint in Gaspar de San Agustín's 1698 *Conquistas* that Salcedo had discovered the Igorot gold mines. The problem was that the *Conquistas* was published 120 years after Salcedo's death and there were very few contemporary references to him in other sources. Happily, I was able to locate his *hojas de servicios*, or "service record."

These *hojas de servicios* are collections of sworn testimonies to a man's service to the King which would justify some personal reward or pension from the state. In Salcedo's case, the occasion was an appeal for pension on the part of his widowed mother, her claims being not only her son's services but those of his *conquistador* father, Pedro, in Mexico. The procedure was for a notary public to swear in a number of witnesses and ask each of them a series of set questions about the actual deeds of the person involved. The Salcedo testimonies run to three inches of pages, of which the following is a fair sample:

To the sixth question he said that what he knows about it is that after making the said journey contained in the preceding question, the said Juan de Salcedo begged and supplicated the said Adelantado that he give him license to go to explore this island of Luzon throughout the northern regions, and the said Adelantado pointed out to him the difficulty of not having the ships for him to sail in, and the aforesaid then offered to look for them himself at his own expense; and so he went and this witness saw him set forth from the City of Manila for the islands of Baco, Mindoro and Balayan and those nearby them, and after some time he returned to this city with eight or nine fully manned native boats; and, with license and instructions from the said Adelantado, he went to explore the opposite coast of this island of Luzon, and after many days came back overland through the Lake of Manila; and after his and his soldiers' return, this witness learned how he had circumnavigated 200 leagues of coast and discovered the provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, and that it is a land rich with much gold; and that in the said journey he and his comrades suffered many hardships and risked their lives by making war against the natives because they were many and armed and fortified with artillery, besides which they tried to give them poison in their food and drink to kill them; so when he returned, he brought information, and gave testimony before a scribe, of the towns and provinces which he had reduced to peace, which were given out as encomiendas by the

Governor, who at that time was Guido de Lavezares, because when he arrived the said Adelantado was dead; and in this he gave special service to His Majesty inasmuch as it seems to be a rich land from which much gold has been secured and is expected to increase; and when he came, he brought as tributes he had collected for His Majesty, a great quantity of gold which he turned over to the Royal Treasury; and this he knows of this question, and it is public knowledge and well known, etc.¹

This testimony, like those of the other witnesses, is disappointing as far as the Igorot gold mines are concerned. But it is very revealing of Filipino reactions to conquest north of Manila, and may well explain the paradox of Juan de Salcedo's reputation in written accounts. On the one hand, he is remembered for his ability to ingratiate himself with surrendering Filipinos—and vice versa—but, on the other, he was the object of strong criticism by Augustinian contemporary Fray Martín de Rada for the excessive violence and bloodshed of the northern expedition. Perhaps the rigor of the Filipino defense of their homes, coming especially after the willingness of others to capitulate, touched off *conquistador* fury as it was to do in the Island of Samar during American conquest 325 years later. Especially interesting is the reference to *artillería* which is made by most of the witnesses, and even more to the word *arcabuces* which appears in one of the testimonies:

In the said journey and exploration, he passed through many hardships, wars, hunger, and deprivations, and was observed to have really risked his life both by sea, sailing along the said opposite coast which is rough, and by land among many enemies who took up arms against him and gave attack, generally with arquebuses, poisoned arrows, spears, and other offensive hand arms.²

By *artillería* we are presumably to understand such weaponry as the well-known Moro *lantakas*, but by *arcabuces* some sort of handguns must be meant, if not actual arquebuses—that is, large-bore, unrifled muskets ignited by matchlocks. Published accounts establish the presence of such firearms in Muslim-controlled areas of the Philippines—e.g., the 1613 San Buenaventura Tagalog dictionary defines *astíngal* as “Arquebus, of the kind they used to use in olden times in their wars and which came from

¹ Archivo General de Indias Sección Patronato, 75, No. 2, ramo 2. (See appendix A for text.)

² Ibid.

Borneo"—but this appears to be the first reference to them in northern Luzon. Of course, both Chinese and Japanese traders and corsairs, who were armed with such weapons, were frequenting the area in Juan de Salcedo's day, so there is no reason why Filipinos should not have had firearms there, too. History's silence about them may simply reflect the fact that they were not important enough to the overall story of conquest and conversion to be worthy of mention.

During the same period of research, I made a copy of the notarized document of 18 April 1571, which formalized Legazpi's occupation of Manila with the legal niceties of which Hapsburg imperialists were so fond. I was interested in the document because of one of José Rizal's comments in his annotated edition of Morga's *Sucesos*: "The term 'conquest' cannot be applied to more than a few islands and only in a very broad sense. Cebu, Panay, Luzon, Mindoro, etc., cannot be called conquered. It was accomplished by means of pacts, peace treaties, and reciprocal alliances."³

Despite due respect for Dr. Rizal, I doubted that treaties dictated by victors to vanquished would, either then or later, be really reciprocal. Moreover, I suspected that they would betray their farcical nature by representing the conquered as not only willing but happy to accept defeat. The 1571 document did not disappoint this expectation.

In the river and town of Manila of the island of Luzon of the Philippines of His Majesty's Islands of the West, on the eighteenth day of the month of May of 1572 [*sic*], before the very illustrious Señor Miguel López de Legazpi, His Majesty's Governor and Captain General of the people and fleet of the discovery of the West, in my presence, Fernando Riquel, senior notary, and the Governor's and Father Fray Diego de Herrera, Provincial of Order of San Agustín, being present, and *Maestro-de-Campo* Martín de Goite, and Captain Juan de Salcedo, and Captain Luis de la Haya, and Captain Andrés de Ibarra, and other principal persons of the camp, certain Filipinos appeared, who, by means of Benito Díaz Bustos and Juan Mahomat, Christian Filipino interpreter, declared they were called Rajah Ache the Elder, and Rajah Soliman the Younger, lords and chiefs of the town of Manila, and Si Bunaw Lakandula, chief of the town of Tondo; and they stated that, in compliance with what the Governor had told them the day before when they

³ Antonio Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1890), p xxxiii.

came to offer peace and friendship, all the chiefs had met together and decided among themselves that it would be best for them to make peace and friendship with the Spaniards and be vassals of His Majesty, and that concerning this they should give him the reply that they had met and made the decision among themselves that they all, with one common assent, wished to be vassals of the King of the Castilians, and as such they offered themselves as of now, on their own part and in the name of all the Filipinos of this region, inasmuch as what the three of them should do and agree to, all would agree to;

And the said Governor said, by means of the said interpreter, that it should be considered carefully because after making and agreeing to the peace, it would have to remain true and perpetual, and that he who should break it would be punished, and in the event they did not wish to be friends they could return without receiving any harm under the safe conduct he had given them; and the said chiefs, having understood the aforesaid through the said interpreters, stated that they had already taken good thought about the business and saw that peace and friendship was best for them and therefore they were offering themselves as vassals of His Majesty;

And then the said Governor explained to them how he had come to these parts by order of the Royal Majesty of the King of Castile, Don Felipe, our Lord, for their well-being and benefit and to enable them to know the true God Almighty and to save them from the error and blindness in which they and their ancestors had been living, and to teach them his holy law and Catholic faith so that they might be saved and not condemned, for His Majesty's main intention was just that, being the most Christian prince he is, and for this purpose to send the religious who were present and others who would come after; and that to acquire so great a good, it was necessary to be and remain subjects of His Majesty and obey his royal orders; and the said Governor, acting in his royal name, would take care to favor them and maintain them in peace and justice;

And then all the chiefs said with one accord that they were pleased and wished to be vassals of His Majesty and as such promised to keep perpetual peace with the Castilians whom they would obey in what they ordered them in the name of His Majesty, and would be his slaves; and the said Governor said that he, in the name of His Majesty, was receiving them as his vassals and would take care of them and favor them in his royal name, and that if any Spaniard or other person of his company should do them any harm or take anything from them by force and against their wishes, with payment or without, they

should notify him of it because he would punish him and indemnify them and maintain them in peace and justice as vassals of His Majesty; to which they signified they were greatly satisfied, and as a sign of true subjection and obedience, they rose from where they were seated, and, kneeling down one by one, they and many other Filipino chiefs and residents with them went and gave their hand to the said Governor in the name of His Majesty;

And his Lordship told them that if they wished to seal the peace and friendship they had promised with some of the ceremonies they were accustomed to make among themselves, he would do it in order to satisfy them; and the said chiefs said that among them they were accustomed to draw blood and drink the blood, but that they considered the said Governor like a father and, therefore, being confident in his word, they wished to make the peace according to the use of Castile; and the said Governor told them that the practice of Castile was to agree before a notary and witness, and the said chiefs were contented with it;

And the said Governor ordered me, the said Fernando Riquel, to attest by writ of the aforesaid all that took place; and the said friendship being made, the Governor took possession of the said land and island in the name of His Majesty, making the acts and ceremonies of true possession according to what is the use and custom, as took place openly and peacefully with the said Filipinos; and, giving them to understand that he was taking the said possession in the name of His Majesty, and the said possession being taken and the peace dated and concluded, the said Governor informed the said Filipinos that they were now ordered to make and complete the fort which they had begun on the promontory in this river where His Majesty's artillery would be placed and set up, and that within the said fort they should make a house for His Majesty, and a large storehouse for the necessary things, and that likewise outside the fort they had to make a house and church for the religious in the place and location which they would select, and a house for the said Governor, and that these houses and church had to be large, and in the same way they had to make another one hundred and fifty medium-sized houses in which the people of the camp would be sheltered, which work they could have been spared if they had not burned the town as they had, and at the same time he told them that they should consider what arrangements he should make so the soldiers would not take anything whatsoever of their property from them but could

maintain themselves without doing them any harm; and they all, with one accord, stated and promised that they would make the buildings and houses declared above, and that when the work of the said houses was finished they would regularly give food to three hundred Spaniards in this town of the sort of provisions and food which they use and have in this land, all of which they promised to comply with through translation by the said interpreters, the aforesaid who were present being witnesses, and as proof of this, his Lordship, the said Governor, ordered it to be attested by writ and signed it in his own hand.

MIGUEL LOPEZ DE LEGAZPI

Done before me,

FERNANDO RIQUEL⁴

Considering the existential situation in Manila in April 1571, the Filipino participation in this alien diplomatic ritual is not surprising, even taking the Spanish description at face value. But what is surprising is that detail about their declining the offer to seal the pact in the Filipino manner. Legazpi was no doubt willing to do what he offered—after all, he had already performed this rite with Si Katuna in Bohol, and his field commander, Martin de Goiti, had done the same with this very Soliman and his uncle only the year before.⁵ Why did Ache, Soliman and Lakandula not wish to do it again now? Is it possible that they had no real intention of making or keeping the dictated pact and so were unwilling to seal it in a manner that would have made it binding in their own eyes? At least we know that Soliman did in fact counterattack the Spaniards a few weeks later. And if the testimony of the Spanish document is to be accepted, we can also say that from the Filipino standpoint, no real peace pact had been concluded.

One of the values of original documents is that they often contain data which their authors included unintentionally or only in passing but which may be of greater historical revelation than

⁴ Archivo General de Indias Sección Patronato, leg. 24, No. 24. (See Appendix B for text.)

⁵ If a story recorded 105 years later is to be believed, they also swore "that the sun should rend them down the middle, the crocodiles eat them, women not give them their favor nor desire them at all, if they should break their word."—Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de N.S.P. San Francisco* (Manila, 1892), 2:58.

what the authors wanted to say. Ovid, for example, in a famous passage in *The Art of Love* inveighing against the avarice of the opposite sex, says, "If you tell them you don't have as much money in the house as they're asking, they say they're willing to take a check."⁶ This passage may not prove anything about the avarice of women, but it certainly indicates that checks were in use in Roman society 2,000 years ago. Similarly when Jesuit Father Francisco Alcina wrote in 1668, "The gold they have now is very little in comparison to what they used to have in olden times, though I recall that once when I was marrying an important Visaya, she was wearing so much gold it made her stoop, and it seemed to me it reached 25 pounds or more, which is a great weight for a 12-year-old girl," he incidentally let us know that upper class seventeenth-century Visayan ladies married at a rather tender age.⁷ If Father Alcina wanted to say something about gold but revealed something about Filipino society, his co-Jesuit Pedro Chirino a half century earlier provides an example of the opposite situation—that is, of speaking about social customs but disclosing something about gold:

It is proverbial among us that none of them who leaves a party completely drunk in the middle of the night fails to find his way home; and if they happen to be buying or selling something, not only do they not become confused in the business but when they have to weigh out the gold or silver for the price (a very common practice among all these tribes, for each one carries his own scales in his purse), they do it with such delicate touch that neither does their hand tremble nor do they err in accuracy.⁸

I had occasion to make use of this principle of "incidental intelligence" when trying to find out when the word "Igorot" was first known to the Spaniards. The earliest examples I could find were in two documents, both of the year 1593-1594. One of these was the report of a Spanish expedition from Pampanga across the Caraballo Sur mountains into what is now Nueva Vizcaya and down the Cagayan Valley to Aparri, and it includes a hearsay description of the gold-mining "Ygolotes" in the mountains to the west. Since this was a report of new territory being explored, the

⁶ *Artis Amatoriae* 1:427-428.

⁷ "Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas" (MS 1668), Part I, Book I, Chapter 3.

⁸ Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 2nd ed. (Manila, 1890), p. 113.

word may well have been a new one just learned by the author of the report at the time.⁹ But the other document is more revealing, for it is not concerned with describing the Igorots themselves. Rather, it makes reference to them in such a way that their existence and characteristics must have been common knowledge to the readers for whom the document was intended, thus indicating that the term had been in use well before the time of writing. This particular document was signed by a number of Dominican friars in the Convent of Santo Domingo in Manila on 11 August 1593, and reads as follows:

The Province of Pangasinan must have some 5,000 Filipinos, and one of their customs is to catch carabaos with pits and traps. They raise pigs, look for wax, make wine, sell jars or pots, and accompany travelers through the unpopulated areas for payment in silver. They don't have mines or gold-washings, for which reason they haven't made a business out of gold. They sell their pigs and carabaos to the Igorots when they happen to come down to buy them from them, and they don't buy them from all but only those who are friends and do them special favors, and therefore the towns and Filipinos who ordinarily deal with the Igorots are very few, and all the others must go and trade one with another so the animals only reach the Igorots by passing from hand to hand; and as these only gather at certain times of the year, it is common that the pigs die off, so the profit is very small and the gold they acquire from the Igorots is little. The main income of Pangasinan is in the sale of rice and other foodstuffs to the Spaniards and other travelers, since those who pass through this province are many and they accompany them. All pay them in silver. The merchants and Spanish officials buy the little gold they obtain from the Igorots, ordering their little gold chains here, and therefore all the gold they have is used up in this way, and also the wax.¹⁰

One and the same document may have different significance for different readers depending on the interest of their particular research. When Father Chirino wrote the passage cited above, he obviously intended to describe a social custom of the Filipino

⁹ Juan Manuel de la Vega, "Expeditions to the Province of Tuy," in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland, 1903-1909), 14:281-326.

¹⁰ Francisco Antolín, "Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789—Part Two," *Asian Folklore Studies*, 30-2 (1970):32-33. (See Appendix C for text.)

people—or perhaps even to defend them against charges of depravity on the part of arrogant ethnocentric *conquistadores*. But the modern Filipino may be more interested in the information it contains about his ancestors' economic condition than their ability to carry their liquor. Dominican Fray Francisco Antolín, on the other hand, writing a book about Igorots in 1789, cited the same passage for a very different purpose:

[Nor is] their being dealers in gold, whose weight and value they know very well and measure by weighing with their own little scales or balances, any real proof of their Chinese origin, since they had the same thing in other places with mines and placers, as an early account by Father Chirino printed in 1607 [*sic*] says of the Filipinos of Bohol.¹¹

In 1918 Dominican Archivist Julián Malumbres made imaginative use of a 1647 document in his *Historia de Cagayán*, namely, as evidence of "the confidence which the natives of Cagayan had in the Dominican fathers from the beginning; this reached such an extent that they not only entrusted their souls to them as their spiritual fathers, but even their material interests, naming them as their advocates with power of attorney in their temporal negotiations."¹² The document is the following:

I CERTIFY: as the oldest person of those who reside in this city of Nueva Segovia [Lal-lo], by virtue of being the son of one of the first Spaniards who came on the conquest and settling of this said city, that I heard it said many times by my mother, Juana Pérez (whom God keep), and by many other persons of the first *conquistadores* and settlers of it, that the settlement of the Filipinos of Bagumbayan, which is a suburb of this said city, was made by the Pampangos, Visayans, Camarinos and the Tagalog Filipina who came with the first Spaniards on the conquest of this province and settlement of this city; and that, after the pacification of the land, the General Juan Pablo de Carrión, Lieutenant of the Governor and Captain General, who came on the said conquest and bore authority and power to give out encomiendas and divide up lands, had said to the said Filipinos who came on the conquest with the Spaniards that they should settle in the place which they call Bagumbayan, and as a partial reward for the many

¹¹ Ibid., p. 103.

¹² Julián Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán* (Manila, 1918), p. 40.

travails which they had suffered in the wars of pacification with the natives of the land, he gave and assigned them lands in the nipa groves of the creek of Linao which the Spaniards call Nipa Creek, that they might make nipa wine and make use of the profit for the sustenance of themselves and their wives, because those Filipinos of the land did not know how to make nipa wine, nor did they use it.

These Filipino *conquistadores* continued this, and after the death of these first settlers, their sons and grandsons; and for more than 54 years I have known these Filipinos of Bagumbayan, most of them descendants of those referred to, always to make nipa wine and sell it to the Spaniards, Filipinos, and other tribes, from what they gather from the nipa groves, which the Lieutenant Governor gave as apportionment to their fathers and grandfathers, enjoying the profit from what was assigned to each one; and in the 33 years which I have been Notary Public of this Province, and before I was, I have never seen, known, nor heard that any governor who has been in this Province in this time, or *alcaldes ordinarios* when this city had a Council, ever prevented it, or imposed any restraint on these Filipinos of Bagumbayan in the making of this nipa wine, or in selling it to whom they wished, because they have no other occupation or resources for making a living and paying their tribute than what they obtain from the wine which they sell from their nipa groves.

And to register this certification as official and valid, in which legal recognition be given the petition of the Filipinos of the said town of Bagumbayan and of the Reverend Father Fray Lucas García as their minister and vicar and the person who has power of attorney for them for all their cases and negotiations, I give these presents, signed with my name, which are dated in Nueva Segovia on the third day of the month of March of the year of one thousand six hundred and forty-eight.

ALONSO GALINDO¹³

Father Malumbres may have been right in thinking the Filipino people in the lower Cagayan Valley quickly learned to trust the friars as their spiritual fathers and legal representatives, although not every historian would agree that the last line of this document proves the fact. But he is certainly to be lauded as an historical researcher for having tried to look through a crack in the parch-

¹³ Ibid., pp. 40-41. (See Appendix D for text.)

ment curtain to catch a glimpse of Filipino behavior, and for having found it in their response to members of his own order. Given his particular interest, it is perhaps not surprising that he failed to note that the Filipinos he was observing were not natives of Cagayan at all, but, rather, descendants of the occupation forces a foreign government landed in Aparri 66 years before. Of course, the fact that the Spaniards were able to recruit a Filipino task force speaking four mutually unintelligible languages only ten years after their arrival in Luzon is the sort of trivia that doesn't get into sober history books—but it is the stuff out of which the fabric of Philippine history was woven. Moreover, it is the stuff the parchment curtain hides from us—the participation of the Filipino people in their own destiny. For it is just possible that if those *indios conquistadores* had not joined Pablo de Carrión in 1581, there might not have been any Dominicans in Cagayan for their descendants to put their trust in in 1647.

APPENDIX A¹⁴

A la sexta pregunta, dijo que lo que de ella sabe es que después de hecha la dicha jornada contenida en la pregunta antes de ésta, el dicho Juan de Salcedo pidió y suplicó al dicho Adelantado le diese licencia para ir a descubrir esta isla de Luzón por la banda del norte, y del dicho Adelantado le puso por inconveniente no haber navíos en que poder navegar, y el susodicho se ofreció de los buscar a su costa, y así fué y le vide [*sic*] salir este testigo de esta ciudad para las islas de Baco, Mindoro y Balayan y sus comarcas, y a cabo de cierto tiempo volvió a esta ciudad con ocho o nueve navíos equipados de naturales; y con licencia y instrucción del dicho Adelantado, fué a descubrir la dicha contracosta de esta isla de Luzón, y á cabo de muchos días volvió por la tierra adentro por la Laguna de Manila, y después de venido de él y sus soldados, supo este testigo como había bojeado diezcientas leguas de costa y descubierto las provincias de Pangasinán, Ilocos y Cagayán, que es tierra rica de mucho oro; que en la dicha jornada padeció muchos trabajos y riesgo de la vida, él y sus compañeros, por haber tenido con los naturales guerra por ser muchos y armados y fortificados y con artillería, de más de que en la comida y bebida procuraban

¹⁴ The original spelling and punctuation of these texts have been modified to conform to modern usage.

darles ponzoña para los matar, y así cuando vino trujo razon y testimonios por ante escribano de los pueblos y provincias que había hecho de paz, los cuales se encomendaron por el Gobernador, que a la sazón era Guido de Lavezares porque cuando llegó era ya fallecido el dicho Adelantado; y en ésto hizo particular servicio a su Magestad por ser como es tierra rica de donde sea sacado mucho oro y se espera mucha cantidad de oro que se metió en la Real Caja, y esto sabe de la pregunta, y es público y notario, etc.

APPENDIX B

En el río y pueblo de Manila de la isla de Luzón de las Filipinas del Poniente de su Magestad a diez y ocho días del mes de Mayo de 1572 [*sic*] años, ante el muy ilustre Señor Miguel López de Legazpi, Gobernador y Capitán General por su Magestad de la gente y armada del descubrimiento del Poniente, por presencia de mi, Fernando Riquel, escribano mayor y del Gobernador, y estando presentes el Padre Fray Diego de Herrera, Provincial de la Orden de San Agustín, y el Maese de Campo, Martín de Goiti, y el Capitán Juan de Salcedo, y el Capitán Luis de la Haya, y el Capitán Andrés de Ibarra, y otras personas principales del campo, parecieron presentes ciertos indios que, mediante Benito Días Bustos y Juan Mahomat, indio cristiano interprete, declaration llamarse Raha Ache el Viejo y Raha Solimane el Mozo, señores y principales del pueblo de Manila, y Sibunao Lacandola, principal del pueblo de Tondo, y dieron como ellos en cumplimiento de lo que el Señor Gobernador les había dicho el día antes, cuando vinieron a ofrecer la paz y amistad, cerca de que se juntasen todos los principales y tratasen entre ellos se les estaría bien hacer paz y amistad con los Españoles y ser vasallos de su Magestad, y sobre ello le diesen la respuesta se habían juntado y tratado lo entre sí, y que todos de común sentimiento querían ser vasallos del Rey de Castilla y por tales se ofrecieron desde ahora por sí en nombre de todos los indios de esta comarca, porque lo que ellos tres hiciesen y asentasen lo tenían todos por bueno;

Y el dicho Señor Gobernador dijo mediante la dicha lengua que lo mirasen bien porque después de hecha y asentada la paz, había de ser verdadera y perpetua y él que la quebrantase sería castigado, y caso puesto que no quisiesen ser amigos se podrían volver sin recibir daño alguno por la seguridad que se les había dado, y los dichos principales habiendo entendido lo susodicho por las dichas lenguas, dijeron que ya ellos tienen bien pensado el negocio y visto

que le paz y amistad los estaba bien y por eso se ofrecían por vasallos de su Magestad;

Y luego el dicho Señor Governador les dió a entender como venía a estas partes por mandado de la Real Magestad del Rey de Castilla, Don Felipe nuestro Señor, por bien y provecho suyo y a darles a conocer a Dios verdadero todopoderoso, y sacarles del error y ceguedad en que ellos y sus antepasados habían estado y enseñarles su Santa Ley y Fe Católica para que se salven y no condenen, porque la principal intención de su Magestad era ésta como cristianísimo príncipe que es, y para dicho efecto enviar los religiosos que presentes estaban y otros que venían atrás, y para conseguir tan gran bien era necesario y ser sujetos a su Magestad y obedecer sus reales mandatos, y haciéndolo así el dicho Señor Governador [en] su real nombre, tenía cuidado de los favorecer y mantener en paz y en justicia;

Y luego todos los dichos principales a una voz dijeron que ellos holgaban y querían ser vasallos de su Magestad y por tales se ofrecieron de tener paz perpetua con los Castellanos a que obedecerían lo que en nombre de su Magestad se les mandase, y serían sus esclavos, y el dicho Señor Governador dijo que él en nombre de su Magestad los recibía por sus vasallos y tenía cuidado de ellos y los favorecería en su real nombre, y que si algún español o otra persona de su compañía les hiciese algún daño o les tomase cosa alguna por fuerza y contra su voluntad con paga o sin ella, le avisasen de ello porque le castigaría y los desagraviaría, manteniéndolos en paz y en justicia como vasallos de su Magestad, de lo cual mostraron tener gran contentamiento, y en señal de verdadera sujeción y obediencia, se levantaron de donde estaban sentados y las rodilla [*sic*] por el suelo, uno a uno de ellos y otros muchos indios principales y vecinos, que con ellos estaban, echaron la mano al dicho Señor Governador en nombre de su Magestad;

Y su Señoría les dijo si querían hacer, para firmeza de la paz y amistad que prometieron, algunas de las ceremonias que entre ellos se acostumbran que la haría para darles contento, y los dichos principales dijeron que entre ellos se acostumbraba sangrar y beber la sangre pero que ellos tenían el dicho Governador por padre y por eso confiados de su palabra querían que la paz fuese a uso de Castilla, y el dicho Governador les dijo que la usanza de Castilla era asentarle ante escribano y testigo, y dicho principales fueron contentos de ella;

Y el dicho Señor Governador mand a mi, el dicho Fernando Riquél, asentase por auo lo susodicho, todo como pasó, y hecha la dicha amistad, el dicho Señor Governador tomó en nombre de su Magestad la posesión de la dicha tierra y isla, haciendo los autos y ceremonias de verdadera posesión según y como es uso y cos-

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tumbre, lo cual pasó en haz y paz de los dichos indios, y dándoseles a entender como se tomaba la dicha posesión en nombre de su Magestad, y fecha y asentada la paz y tomada la dicha posesión, el dicho Señor Gobernador les mandó a los dichos indios que luego mandasen hacer y hiciesen acabar un fuerte que tenían comenzado en la punta de este río, donde se plantase y pusiese la artillería de su Magestad, y que dentro del dicho fuerte hiciesen una casa para su Magestad y una camarín grande para cosas necesarias, y que asimismo fuera del fuerte habían de hacer una casa e iglesia para los religiosos en la parte y lugar que se les señalase, y una casa para el dicho Señor Gobernador, y que estas casas y iglesia habían de ser grandes, y asimismo habían de hacer otras ciento y cinquenta casas medianas en que se albergarse la gente del campo, lo cual se pudiera haberse escusado si ellos no quemaran como quemaron el pueblo, y asimismo les trató y dijo que vieses ellos que orden se debía dar para que los soldados no les tomasen cosas ninguna de sus haciendas y se pudiesen sustentar sin less hacer daño, y ellos todos de una conformidad dijeron y prometieron que harían los edificios y casas arriba declaradas, y que acabada la obra de las dichas casas, darían comida en este pueblo a trescientos españoles ordinariamente de los mantenimientos y comida que ellos usan y tienen en esta tierra, todo lo cual prometieron de cumplir por lengua de los dichos interpretes, siendo testigos sobre dichos que se hallaron presentes, y para que consta a ella su Señoría del dicho Señor Gobernador lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmé de su mano.

DON MIGUEL LOPEZ DE LEGAZPI

Ante mí,

FERNANDO RIQUEL

APPENDIX C

La Provincia de Pangasinán cuenta hasta cinco mil indios, y su trato es coger carabaos con hoyos y trampas. Crian puercos, buscan cera, hacen vino, venden tinajas o vasijas, y acompañan a los pasajeros en los despoblados por la paga en plata. No tienen minas, ni labaderos de oro, por lo que jamás han usado beneficiando. Venden sus puercos y carabaos a los igorotes, cuando les parece bajar a comprarlos, y no los compran a todos sino a aquellos que son sus amigos y les agasajan. Y así los pueblos e indios, que

ordinariamente tratan con los igorotes son muy pocos, y todos los demás van vendiendo y contratando unos con otros, para que de mano en mano vayan llegando los animales a los igorotes; y, como estos no acuden sino a ciertos tiempos del año, es lo ordinario morirse los puercos, y así es muy poca la ganancia, y poco el oro que adquieren de los igorotes. La mayor ganancia del Pangasinán está en la venta del arroz y otros comestibles a los españoles y otros pasajeros, que son muchos los que pasan por esta Provincia, y les acompañan. Todo se les paga en plata. El poco oro que logran de los igorotes se lo compran los mercaderes y justicias españoles, mandando labrar aquí sus cadenillas, y con esto recogen todo el oro que pueden haber, y también la cera.

APPENDIX D

CERTIFICO: como persona más antigua de los que residen en esta ciudad de Nueva Segovia por ser hijo de uno de los primeros españoles que vinieron a la conquista y población de esta dicha ciudad, que lo oí decir muchas veces a mi madre Juana Pérez (que Dios haya) y a otras muchas personas de los primeros conquistadores y pobladores de ella que la población de los indios de Bagumbayan, que es arrabal de esta dicha ciudad, se hizo de la india tagala, pampangos, visayas y camarines que vinieron con los primeros españoles a la conquista de esta provincia y población de esta ciudad; y que, después de pacificada la tierra, el General Juan Pablo de Carrión, Teniente de Gobernador y Capitán General que vino a la dicha conquista, que trajo poder a mano para dar encomiendas y repartir tierras, había dicho a los dichos indios que vinieron a la conquista con los españoles que poblasen en el sitio que llamen Bagumbayan, y por gratificarles en algo los muchos trabajos que habían padecido en las guerras de pacificaciones por los naturales de la tierra, les repartió y señaló tierras en los nipales del estero de Linao que llaman los españoles comunmente, estero de la nipa, para que hiciesen vino de nipa y se aprovechansen del usufruto para su sustento de ellos y sus mujeres, porque aquellos indios de la tierra no sabían hacer vino de nipa ni lo usaban.

Estos indios conquistadores fueron continuando esto y por muerte de estos primeros indios pobladores, sus hijos y nietos; y en más de cincuenta y cuatro años los he conocido siempre a estos indios de Bagumbayan descendientes los más de ellos de los referidos, hacer el vino de nipa y venderlo a los españoles, indios y otras naciones de lo que cogen de los nipales, que a sus padres y abuelos dió de repartimiento el Teniente Gobernador, ap-

rovechándose del usufruto do lo que a cada uno se le señaló, y en treinta y tres años que ha soy Escribano Público de esta Provincia ni antes que lo fuera no he visto, sabido, ni oído que ningún Alcalde Mayor que en esta tiempo ha habido en esta Provincia, ni Alcaldes Ordinarios, cuando había Cabildo en esta ciudad, lo haya impedido, ni puesto ninguna contradicción a estos indios de Bagumbayan en el hacer este vino de nipa, ni que ellos vendan a quien quieran, porque no tienen otro officio, ni recurso para buscar su sustento y pagar su tributo, que lo que sacan del vino que venden de sus nipales.

Y para que conste donde convenga y valga esta certificación, en lo que hubiere lugar de derecho, de pedimento de los indios de dicho pueblo de Bagumbayan y del R.P. Fr. Lucas García como su Ministro y Vicario y persona que tiene poder de ellos para todos sus causas y negocios, dí la presente y firmada de mi nombre, que es fecha en la Nueva-Segovia en tres días del mes de Marzo de mil seis cientos y cuarenta y ocho años.

ALONSO GALINDO

History of the Inarticulate

During the First Seminar for Provincial Historical Committees held in Manila in February 1970, a keynote paper made reference to a thesis which has become a commonplace of modern Philippine historiography—namely, that it is not possible to write a history of the Filipino people during the Spanish regime because all the source materials were written by Spaniards for Spanish purposes with Spanish prejudices. Commentator Renato Constantino, however, took exception to this thesis in the following terms:

The dearth of historical materials about the Filipinos themselves poses a real challenge to the creativity of our historians. Properly studied, however, the recorded history of the articulate can yield data for a history of the inarticulate *indios*. Early history may deal almost exclusively with the activities of the Spaniards but this does not mean that the inhabitants of the country did not have a history of their own. From the point of view of the colonizers, the people may have been an inert, passive mass to be exploited and molded as they wished. A closer study will reveal that not only did Spaniards and Spanish policy greatly influence the lives of the *indios*, these *indios*, by their reactions, however circumscribed, also influenced Spanish policy and Spaniards, whether the latter realized it or not. Thus, even that which is sometimes dismissed as a history of Spain by Spaniards can yield, if only indirectly, insights into the development of the native population.

Constantino then went on to challenge Philippine historians to reconstruct what would be nothing less than a “history of the inarticulate.”

It would seem logical to conclude that certain edicts and policies were the result rather than the cause of native behavior. The dynamics of social change can be seen in the nature

of these edicts. Correspondence may also yield clues on the history of the inarticulate. If anthropological research can arrive at certain reconstructions of Philippine life even without the benefit of recorded history, I see no reason why we cannot recreate the life of our people during the period of Spanish occupation. Surely the Spaniards who lived here reacted and interacted with the environment and with the people. We may not be able to get numerous details but available data may allow us to reconstruct broad trends and tendencies.

It is of course true that we are not going to learn very much about the Filipino people from Spanish histories as such. The problem is not so much that what they say is biased, but that they say practically nothing about Filipinos at all. The Spanish historian is interested in telling the story of what Spaniards did in the Philippines and how they did it, and he gives little space to the personalities or reactions of Filipinos undergoing the process. The great revolts which convulsed northern Luzon from Pangasinana to Ilocos Norte in 1660-1661 probably receive no more than 150 pages in all published accounts, and even in these pages we find only one detail which makes it possible to distinguish one Filipino protagonist from another—the fact that Pedro Almazán of San Nicolas nursed such resentment against the Spanish occupation that he kept one set of chains in his house for every Spaniard in the province. This colorful detail presumably survived the screening process of colonial historiography for the purpose of illustrating the total depravity of so disloyal a Spanish subject. The question the incident raises for any historian interested, like Constantino, in the history of the inarticulate is not whether Pedro Almazán was a disloyal Spanish subject or a patriotic Filipino hero, but just how many Pedro Almazáns went unrecorded in Philippine history.

This exceptional little detail about Pedro Almazán appears in the Augustinian *Conquistas* of Fray Casimiro Diaz which was written a half century after the event, and must therefore have been derived from some “primary source” like a contemporary letter or report.

It is just such sources which contain the sparse records of the inarticulate Filipinos' history. Students familiar only with traditional history may be surprised at the title of a 1975 doctoral dissertation, “A history of Samar Island, the Philippines, 1768-1898.” What, after all, could have happened in an out-of-the-way place like Samar during those years to qualify as history except a rebellion or two or a half dozen shipwrecks? Yet Franciscan

missionary correspondence for just the one year 1775 includes such dramatic statements as "I came running out with a saber in hand and the bully ran off cowardly like a deer," and "I sent datus to whip him for not wanting to hear Mass, and he drew his knife to kill me." Parish life in Samar could not have been so sleepy as the silence of history would suggest if friars could casually report such incidents to their superiors as "I went up quickly to the parish house, put a canon by the door [and] filled it with grapeshot, intending to rake all standing in the door." These dramatic quotations reflect more basic sociological conditions than the mere foibles of human personalities, and it was the purpose of the dissertation to discover these root causes, not simply to tell a good story. Examination of the chance correspondence cited made it possible to do so.

Correspondence may not only yield clues to the history of the inarticulate, it may actually preserve the sound of their voices. Consider the Filipino of Cainta in 1577 who shouted out at the Spaniards under cover of darkness, "What have we done to you, or what did our ancestors owe yours, that you should come to plunder us?" Or the Igorot of Kayapa in 1787 who retorted to a Dominican friar trying to proselytize him, "So what about those Englishmen who occupied Manila—they were white and Christian, weren't they?" The faceless images of Filipino obstacles to Spanish programs take on individual features with the cool rhetoric of a Maguindanao datu like Pagdalanum addressing a whimpering Jesuit captive in 1613: "Since you are a Christian, and have neither wife nor child, of what concern is it to you whether you die here, or there, or elsewhere? Let God's will be done."

Nor did an 1835 complaint by the people of Tagudin, Ilocos Sur, against their friar vicar who had ordered excessive floggings hesitate to threaten, "In similar cases of severity so harsh, it may please you to call to mind what is wont to happen with carabaos, that however tame they may be, they attack their own masters when these maltreat them and apply rod and whip too often." And in 1745 the leaders of the town of Silang, Cavite, left their mark in Philippine history, if not in Philippine textbooks, by sending a polite letter to the friar administrator of the Hacienda of Biñan which began:

We have no other intention in writing you except to wish you good day and express our hope that you will enjoy good health. In addition we must tell you that tomorrow, if God be pleased, all of us of Silang are coming to our lands which you have usurped without justice but because of the power of your

money. We intend to destroy the house which you are building in Monting Ilog, and also to destroy the dams which are being constructed next to our lands.

Constantino also calls for detective work. Investigation and deductive reasoning of the Sherlock Holmes variety are especially necessary in the case of popular stereotypes which have blotted out ordinary evidence from the written record.

The standard Spanish analysis of relations between Muslim and non-Muslim Filipinos may be taken as a case in point. It was the Spanish explanation—one might almost say “canard”—that Moros were by nature or faith pirates and slave-raiders but that other Filipinos were not. This simplistic stereotype proved so attractive to non-Muslim Filipinos under Spanish tutelage over the centuries that it has nowadays called forth an equally simplistic Moro counter-stereotype—that of all Filipinos living together in peace and harmony until the Spaniards arrived to teach some of them to hate the others on the grounds of religion alone. Detective work in Chinese records, unpublished Spanish documents, and early Visayan-Spanish dictionaries, however, can solve this mystery by presenting, if not courtroom proofs, at least convincing circumstantial evidence.

To begin with, Chao Ju-kua's 1225 *Chu Fan Chih* reports that Visayan outriggers used to raid the Fukien coast of China during the last decade of the preceding century, and contemporary accounts say that the raiders themselves were “as dark as lacquer so that you could hardly see their tattoos,” and suggest that they sailed by way of Taiwan and the Babuyanes. The 1349 *Tao I Chih Lüeh* of Wang Ta-yüan adds that these Visayans were such notorious slavers that all other islanders of the Eastern Ocean ran away at the mere mention of their name. (Wang also gives the selling price of Visayan slaves as two gold *taels* each.)

Three centuries later, old Samareño families could still tell Jesuit Father Francisco Alcina the places they used to raid—e.g., Albay and the Catanduanes—and he himself was acquainted with families in Borogan who were descended from Luzon captives. Father Alcina's parishioners could also recite long ballads about a Bohol princess who played so hard-to-get she kept sending suitors off on successive raids to Jolo, Mindanao, Ternate, and finally China itself. Indeed, a Spaniard by the name of Juan Flores, cast away during the 1543 Villalobos expedition, survived in a Samar village for 18 years before perishing on just such an inter-island raid with 30 of his Filipino townmates.

It is possible to compile a revealing list of specialized terms connected with such Viking enterprises from the Alonzo del Mentrí-

da 1637 *Bocabulario de la Lengua bisaya-hiligueyna y haraia de las Islas de Panay y Sugbu y para las demás Islas* like *alang* or *botong*: traffic in slaves, gongs, or porcelains; *ayao*: robbing like pirates on the sea or sacking towns or islands; *dolag*: a contribution toward a captive's ransom; or *damilit*: a slave placed face down "to launch a ship over him."

Slave-raiding, in short, was an ordinary Philippine practice when the Spaniards arrived in the 16th century, and was not restricted to any one group of Filipinos, whatever their language or religion. Thus, in all the major languages of the archipelago *mangayaw* means "to raid enemy territory" whether for purposes of taking slaves, cutting off heads, or winning basketball games. Then foreign military conquest deprived the Visayans of the means of continuing the practice and so reduced them from competitors to victims. Subsequently, some Visayans told Hernando de los Ríos Coronel in 1621, "Let us be free, and let us have arms, and we shall be able to defend ourselves as we did before the advent of the Spaniards."

Another stereotype that needs reexamination for a better understanding of the history of the Filipino people during the Spanish occupation is the supposed ease, speed, and thoroughness of the Conquest.

Most history texts assume, and some specifically state, that by the year 1600 the entire population of the archipelago was under colonial control except for the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu—and, the more perspicacious add, the Igorots of northern Luzon. That there was no Filipino government challenging *de jure* Spanish control of the archipelago in 1600 is fairly obvious, but that the total population was submissive to that control is not obvious. Indeed, in view of the fact that Spanish records regularly tabulate the tribute-paying population but ignore the existence of any other population, it is difficult to understand how the stereotype came into existence in the first place. In the absence of comparative statistics, how did anybody conclude what percentage of the population was conquered at any given time?

When the province of Isabela was created in 1856, its population was listed as being less than that of the city of Laoag—yet it technically included all of eastern Kalinga and Bontoc and the populous terrace lands of Ifugao. The census figure therefore represented not the entire population but only those who were willing to be counted. The great land masses of the archipelago never really came under Spanish control: as late as 1800 there were practically no Spanish outposts in terrain higher than 500 feet above sea level except in the Caraballo uplands of Nueva

Vizcaya. As a matter of fact, except for the great central plain of Luzon, few Spaniards in 1800 resided more than 15 kilometers from the sea coast. How many Filipinos lived in these vast areas without paying tribute or hearing Mass?

During the Advent season of 1698, Archbishop Diego Camacho visited the "innumerable pagans" of the hill districts to the south and east of Manila Bay—Antipolo, Balayan, Taal, etc.—as well as Pampanga, where those around Mount Arayat were effectively preventing overland communications with the Cagayan Valley. These independent Filipinos were called *tinguianes* (from Malay *tinggi*, "high"), but they were not members of tribes different from their lowland neighbors. Those around Manila were Tagalog-speaking hillsmen all the way to the *contracosta* of Lamón Bay whose occasional dialect variants show up matter-of-factly in the pages of early Tagalog dictionaries like those of Fathers Pedro de San Buenaventura and Francisco Blancas de San José. They lived in symbiotic relationship with subjugated Filipinos in the plain by providing them with forest products like the beeswax without which a good tribute-paying Christian could hardly light a candle in the Manila Cathedral. Collecting beeswax in the forest is a labor-intensive industry which requires many hands producing a low yield during a short working season. One wonders just how many independent Filipinos were required to supply the ritual needs of their more pious and subjugated brethren.

One of Archbishop Camacho's contemporaries, Dominican Procurator Alonso Sandin, thought such independent Filipinos vastly outnumbered the others throughout the whole Islands. "Actually," he wrote the King at the end of the century, "it would be good if one in four were converted." Father Sandin was not just talking about Igorots and Moros, either. He was talking about neighbors so close their complete independence kept attracting vassal Filipinos to run away and join them. As late as 1881 more than one-third the population of Samar was listed as independent, and when the central government pushed a plan to resettle all unconverted Filipinos in registered barrios in the early 1890's, Antique led the list with 154 such *rancherías*, Cagayan running a poor second with 101. As late as 1865 the missionary friar of Bacolod could recommend conversion by armed force—let them choose between "*la reducción o el castigo*," he said—and, in fact, there was a steady proliferation of military zones and commands all during the 19th century. Despite containment of the Moro threat by steam-powered warships by the 1850's, a *comandancia politico-militar* was created in Burias in 1855, to be followed by the Military Government of the Visayas in 1860 for Cebu, Panay, Negros, Bohol, Leyte and Samar. Soon

afterwards its governor recommended separate commands in Negros Oriental on the basis of the large number of unregistered and untaxed vagrants who occupied the 250 kilometers between Isiú and Tolon. That the number of active military zones in Mindanao and northern Luzon had increased from 11 in 1838 to 35 by the end of the Spanish regime may perhaps be interpreted as the final mopping-up operations of a 300-year pacification campaign, but the facts that Samar still had a military governor in 1881 and Concepcion, Iloilo, in 1888, that two new military governments were created in Negros in 1889, and that the civil government of Albay was requesting a military government for Catanduanes in 1891, make it clear that Igorots and Moros were not the only Filipinos who escaped assimilation into the Spanish empire.

The reason we do not read about this 19th-century militarization of the archipelago in history books is probably because history books are written and read by an articulate minority interested only in the activities of others of their kind. We may thus become well informed about the introduction of foreign capital and development of export crops, the resistance put up by native vintners against government controls, or the execution of Spanish-speaking college graduates on false charges of subversion—but not the decrees and penal legislation which affected the lives of the inarticulate majority.

We can read even less about the inarticulate themselves, despite the fact that it was their behavior, as Constantino pointed out, which caused the edicts and decrees to be promulgated in the first place. Yet it is precisely these Filipinos who are taken as the criterion for the successful conquest and conversion by which the recalcitrance of the Moros, Igorots, *remontados*, and *tulisanes* can be measured. Were they really such law-abiding models of cooperation, docility, and loyalty? An examination of the decrees and edicts themselves casts serious doubt on the assumption.

Documentary references in the Philippine National Archives to Spanish attempts to keep Filipinos literally in their place—that is, to prevent them from moving, migrating, or spending the night someplace other than where they were legally registered—reach almost paranoid proportions during the 19th century. In Ilocos in the 1820's, for example, keeping an unregistered visitor overnight was a crime punishable by 25 lashes at the town whipping post, and Igorots in the nearby hills were liable to a thirty-peso fine simply for failure to report the presence of a runaway Christian. In 1858 the Governor of Manila disapproved a request from barrio Tipas to be separated from Taguig with an assessment of

Filipino character that can be found tediously repeated all through the Spanish regime:

The inhabitants' dislike of settling in a common center is well-known, a reluctance produced by an indolence so deeply ingrained in them that they are not willing to hike out even a little distance every day to their fields and labors... Today a hut is planted in some isolated spot, tomorrow it is converted into a house, and in a short time many others appear scattered here and there—and all for the reason stated, or the equally reprehensible one of escaping the vigilance of authority.

Among the regulations established for the *Carabineras de Seguridad Pública* in 1835, forerunners of the *Guardia Civil*, the two longest articles are Nos. 26 and 27, concerning suspicious dwellings separated from town centers, and those whose occupants have no fields, cattle, or known means of support, respectively—all of which are to be put to the torch. The harshness of the system—and its ineffectiveness—was obvious to even the Spaniards themselves. On 1 February 1848, the Governor of Tondo Province reported to the central government:

In the towns of San Mateo and Bosoboso where I spent the last week in search of two captives escaped from the Governor of Bulacan, I learned that there are families in the mountains who come from those and other towns who make their living by planting tobacco, palay, and other vegetables for their maintenance which are destroyed every year along with their houses, in the incursions which the Revenue Agents make to cut their tobacco crops and by which they have been reduced to the most dreadful misery. I concede that these runaway fugitives from the towns are remiss in their duties, defraud the Treasury of the payment of their tribute, and increase the contraband by harvesting tobacco which they then sell with prejudice to the Monopoly; but although I admit all this, I cannot but recognize the consequences of leaving them without house or livelihood, nor does it seem likely to me that they will be reduced to the centers by this harsh method inasmuch as it has been employed for many years already without producing that effect.

Most Filipino students know the story of how José Rizal was struck with a saber by a Civil Guard one foggy night in Intramuros when he failed to render an obsequious salute, but few

realize that police regulations of the day amounted to virtual martial law, with no civil rights to redress for military abuses.

The old *Carabineras* were authorized to apprehend not only vagabonds, dishonest or unlicensed boatmen and cargo-carriers, persons breaking monopolies or creating disturbances at fiestas, but even "domestic servants for quarrels inside the house, lack of respect, etc." Their *Guardia Civil* successors in 1863 were given more explicit instructions, chief among which, needless to say, were those intended to restrict Filipinos' freedom of movement: the Civil Guard was to examine passports and licenses, stopping public vehicles to do so, permit no gatherings after ten o'clock at night or passage through the streets "without a legitimate purpose," and to "enter houses situated in unpopulated areas at any hour of the day or night if he believes it useful for the service." Article 3 of chapter 4 of the regulations in effect in 1887 defines the extent of his authority unambiguously:

The Civil Guard not only has the duty to cooperate in the maintenance of public order, obeying and executing instructions from the Chief of the Province or his delegates, but also to perform this service by himself in the absence of authority; therefore, all Chiefs, Officers, and troop members of this force are under individual obligation to put down and reprimand whatever disorder or riot occurs in his presence, without orders from any civil authority being necessary for taking action.

Naturally, there were stringent regulations against firearms or other weapons. An 1844 proclamation decrees a fine of P30 or two months in prison or at public labor—double for a second offence, triple for a third—for the use, possession, sale, exchange, importation, or toleration of arms of any sort or kind whatsoever, and specifically for the use, manufacture, or sale of blunderbuses, carbines, sheathknives, swordcanes, daggers, butcher knives, harpoons, or, in short, any kind of bladed instrument except bolos with rounded points.

These restrictions are not surprising in themselves, but the exemptions are thought-provoking—that is, who is eligible for permits to own firearms. Ships, both in coastal waters and on the high seas, may apply on the grounds of self-defense; boats and barges "for defense and security"; owners, administrators, and landlords of haciendas "for self-defense"; travelers and merchants between provinces "if they need them for their defense and security"; and "in addition to the exemptions stated, permits may be

granted to any Filipino or *mestizo* who, because of the extent of the lands he possesses, or the cattle, business, industry, or enterprises he may have, or for some other just cause, is accredited with legitimate need to hold arms for self-defense." It would appear that anybody who owned anything in the colony was called upon to defend it by the force of his own arms. Against whom was all this self-defense necessary? Did Filipino bandits so disproportionately outnumber all the agents of public peace and security? Or was it simply that all those identified with, and dependent upon, colonial law and order were fair game for a Filipino people that had never really been conquered?

The answer to the question is contained in the history of the inarticulate. It is given in those chance references to the Filipino people's unwillingness to obey that colonial regime with which their leaders cooperated and off which those leaders batten. It is contained in all those records of Filipino resistance to interference with their livelihood and places of residence. And it is unambiguously written in that mountain of legal documents whose unrealized purpose was precisely to prevent that growth of inarticulate power which finally brought the writing of Spanish history by Spaniards in the Philippines to an end.

The Creation of a Cultural Minority

During an open forum of the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference in December of 1973, an Igorot student in the audience addressed a question to the chair which began with the words, "Sir, before we were cultural minorities..." The expression surprised many people present, and, indeed, seemed meaningless to some. Anthropologists and tourists have made us so aware of the difference between the so-called minorities and the rest of the Filipino people that we regard them almost as a separate species—and it never occurs to us there may have been a day when they were not cultural minorities.

The New Society, of course, calls these people cultural communities, and they have come into new prominence since the promulgation of the goals of nation-building and national consciousness which are expressed in such slogans as "*Isang lahi, isang bansa, isang tadhana*—One race, one nation, one destiny." These Filipinos used to be called ethnic minorities because their ancestors resisted assimilation into the Spanish and American empires and therefore retained more of the culture and customs of their *ethnos*, or "tribe," than their colonized brothers who eventually came to outnumber them. They scarcely appear in the pageant of history presented in the Philippine school system because they lived outside Spanish control and therefore show up in the Spanish records which form the basis of Philippine history simply as outcasts, brigands, or savages. And from this same circumstance stems the fact that our main knowledge of them is derived from 20th-century tourist descriptions or anthropological studies.

Such studies and descriptions have the result, if not the aim, of making us aware of the differences between these minority cultures and the majority culture. They do not, of course, either ask or answer the question of how these differences arose, and therefore do not contribute, or intend to contribute, to understanding why some Filipinos still dance the dances their ancestors danced but others do not. Quite the opposite, they obscure the

very question by reinforcing a natural tendency to consider present conditions normative and static rather than as the end product of an ongoing process of human history. Worse yet, they have fastened these differences on the civic consciousness of the Filipino people by projecting 20th-century observations into a pre-historic past complete with dates and details for which there is no archaeological evidence whatever.

To the historian, however, limited as he is to records compiled by foreign chroniclers, no such Filipino minority-majority division appears. The earliest accounts are more interested in the difference between Spaniards and Filipinos than between one Filipino and another, and beyond the facts that some Filipinos were Muslims and others were not, and that those in the hinterlands lacked the cultural advantages of those in the trading ports they have little to say about the characteristics or variations of Filipino life styles. Later accounts, on the other hand, distinguish Filipinos from one another mainly by whether they had submitted to Spanish rule or not, and so limit their cultural observations to such comments as references to the one as *dóciles* and the other as *feroces*. Nonetheless, it is possible by a careful survey of the accounts to recognize the rise of a cultural concept in the mind of the Spanish observers which did not exist at the beginning of their regime, a concept akin to that which we today would call a cultural minority. It is a concept which arose in response to an historic process which was nothing less than the creation of cultural minorities. What I propose to do here is to illustrate this process by telling the story of one of these cultural communities as an historian, not as an anthropologist or a tourist—that is, by restricting myself to the written accounts of what earlier observers found worthy of record.

The cultural community I have chosen is the Isneg people of the Sub-Province of Apayao of the Province of Kalinga-Apayao in the mountains of far northern Luzon. The sub-province takes its name from the Apayao River which rises on the eastern slope of the largest mountain range in the Philippines, the Gran Cordillera Central, which forms the watershed between the Ilocos coastal plain on the west and the Cagayan Valley on the east, and flows into the Pacific Ocean at Abulug about 25 kilometers west of the mouth of the Cagayan River at Aparri. Both Spanish and contemporary sources consider mountains impenetrable barriers to communication, and modern Filipino laymen have accepted this impenetrability as the explanation for the cultural community's existence in this area. This geographic situation is one of two reasons I chose the Isnegs as my subject—to see whether Spanish records do in fact indicate that these Filipinos lived in geographic

isolation from other Filipinos.

The second reason is that at the time of the American occupation, the Isnegs might well have served as the stereotype for what other Filipinos consider an ethnic minority—they were illiterate, wore G-strings, cut off human heads, and sacrificed pigs to pagan deities. Blas Villamor, first Filipino lieutenant-governor of the sub-province and brother of the first Filipino president of the University of the Philippines, was quoted as saying that the natives of Apayao were so savage they could never be pacified but would have to be exterminated. The question we will ask is, Do the Spanish records portray these Filipinos as being so different from their Filipino neighbors, and hostile to them?

Of course, there was no such province or sub-province in the Spanish period, nor does the word "Isneg" itself appear in print until the 20th century. The area appears in historic records for the first time soon after the Spaniards settled in the Cagayan Valley in 1581 to prevent the Japanese from doing the same thing. When the Spaniards learned that a Japanese settlement had actually been established there by a certain Tayfusa, a freebooter who lacked only a monarch's backing to qualify as a second Legazpi, they dispatched a fleet from Manila. After defeating the Japanese, they remained there to discourage any such competition in the future. Dominican Bishop Diego Aduarte, who arrived in the Philippines only 14 years after the event, described the Spanish position in the following candid terms:

Thus the Spaniards remained in this province, but against the will of its inhabitants, who wished to see them there as little as they wished to see the Japanese, and as they promptly made clear by withdrawing farther into the interior, leaving them all alone with no food, so that they quickly consumed all their provisions.

Bishop Aduarte may not have realized it but he had put his finger on one of the techniques by which those mountaineer Filipinos called Igorots were later to resist Spanish occupation for centuries. That is, Spanish *conquistadores* never grew their own food and the Igorots were willing to abandon or burn their houses and fields rather than feed them. But he did correctly diagnose another sort of Filipino behavior which worked in Spanish favor:

They were much aided in their plan to remain there by the many factions and wars among the Filipinos, who could not live in peace but were constantly slaying one another.

One such faction was headed by a pocket-sized Napoleon called Guiab, who apparently stood a good chance of conquering the whole lower Cagayan Valley. He operated with a task force of 300 men, attacked anybody who resisted him, punished any disrespect or disobedience, and rewarded his followers from the spoils of victory. As soon as he heard about the presence of the Spaniards, he started sending them rice and chickens and even hogs—presumably because he recognized them as men after his own heart and thus as potentially valuable allies. But the local people begged the Spaniards not to join forces with this local *conquistador*, so, misreading the message and overplaying their hand, the Spaniards captured Guiab and hanged him. But this only set off a real resistance movement, complete with personal challenges to lay down their firearms and come out and fight fairly, man to man—the same challenge, as a matter of fact, Igorots were to shout down from the mountaintops when their turn came in the next century.

Another faction, however, the Spaniards were able to exploit more successfully. Along the seacoast just west of the Cagayan River mouth, a Filipino by the name of Tuliao had been feuding with his own brother for many years. Seeking to take advantage of the new political situation, Tuliao asked for Spanish intervention on his behalf. So the Spaniards, as Bishop Aduarte put it, “ended their quarrel for them by taking away the lands over which they had been quarreling.” Such heavy-handed tactics, however, soon led to the outright killing of Filipinos and made missionary work impossible for the friars who had accompanied the expedition, so they withdraw in disgust and frustration.

For 14 years this military occupation was unable to extend its control much farther along the coast than the mouth of the Apayao River. Then new missionary friars arrived to make use of the personal relations, both positive and negative, that had developed between Filipinos and Spaniards in the interim. In Pata they found Chief Yringan who had been won over by the example of a Spaniard who had been cured of an illness by praying before a large cross, and in Masi they were able to reconcile Chief Siriban who had taken to the hills after his two wives had been flogged on the charge of bigamy. Both were among the first converts baptized on Easter Day 1596, and Siriban volunteered allegiance for himself and his subjects in the Plebiscite of 1597. (This Plebiscite was a kind of referendum in which Filipino chieftains under Spanish control were asked if they wanted the Spaniards to remain or withdraw.) One town that voted “yes” explained the choice by saying that the greatest advantage of obedience to His Majesty was in having Spaniards to liberate them from the ty-

ranny of their chieftains, and friars to liberate them from some of the Spaniards.

The following year, a priest was stationed in Abulug and began the construction of a church. But the forced labor conscripted to build the church gave the people of Abulug second thoughts about the advantages of a resident priest, so they sent a delegation of chiefs to Manila to request the withdrawal of the friars. As the delegation was sailing down the Ilocos coast, however, heavy weather drove them to put in at Vigan. Vigan was a community which had accepted foreign occupation back in the days of *Conquistador* Juan de Salcedo himself 25 years before, and their leaders now persuaded the Cagayan delegation that the Spaniards were here to stay and that the best thing for them to do would be to return to Cagayan and make friends with the missionaries there so they would have some allies against the abuses of the military. So that is what they did. And so, too, the people of Fotel, a day's journey up the Apayao River, asked for a missionary priest when tribute-collectors appeared among them for the first time ten years later. Thus the Mission of Santa Cecilia de Babulayan was founded in Fotel in 1610.

Now, Fotel is the modern Pudtol, Apayao, and it was until recently inhabited by people who speak the Isneg language—that is, by Filipinos who have come to be called a cultural minority—while the Ibanag-speaking natives of Cagayan who are descended from Yringan, Siriban, and Tuliao are simply called Filipinos. This is a discrimination which does not appear in the Spanish records.

For 15 years, mission work proceeded smoothly at Fotel, although its people remained so independent-minded that the annual tribute-collector had to come in well-armed and quickly depart. Then, on the first Sunday after Trinity in 1625, two of those mountaineer chiefs approached Father Alonso García and Brother Onofre Palao as they were eating lunch after mass, and for the third time requested permission to return to the hills. When this was refused, they draw their bolos, hacked the two clergy to death, and led all the converts and catechumens back to the mountains. The following spring a Spanish punitive expedition destroyed the coconut plantation in the deserted village, and then the Isnogs moved back again. Six years later, friar missionaries returned, restored the work, opened two new missions, and in less than a year baptized more than 500 new Christians. A shrine was erected on the site of Father García's death, and the missions continued to flourish until a garrison of Filipino troops was stationed at Fotel under the command of one Don Francisco Tuliao.

Then, for what a Spanish chronicler considered no reason at all—a *traición y sin motivo alguno*—the troops killed some 80 Isnogs, and the next year their avengers proceeded to burn the fort, kill 25 soldiers, and put their priest in a boat with the church ornaments and send him safely downstream. Just six years later, two new missionaries were assigned to Fotel, and by 1657 the mission was so flourishing it was given charge of work in the Babuyanans.

The records which provide these details give us little insight into the culture of the Isnogs, minority or otherwise, except that they were masters enough of their own destiny to be able to accept or reject foreign missionaries as they chose. True, Bishop Aduarte does say that Father García's flesh was thrown to the pigs after he was murdered—but this is no more noteworthy a fate than that of a Spanish tribute-collector in Isabela a generation earlier whose shin-bones wound up as rungs in some independent Filipino's house-ladder. Aduarte calls the Isnogs living farther upstream or higher in the mountains Mandayas, a term which literally means "those up above." (*Daya/raya/laya*—"upstream" or "up above"—is a root common to many Philippine languages, and inland Filipino groups have been called Mandayas, Irrayas or Ilayas all over the archipelago.) Moreover, he says that Father García's murderers were Mandayas "whose native abode was in mountainous places above the Bay of Bigan in Ilocos." This reference to Vigan is a curious one, for Vigan and its bay lie on the west coast of Luzon, while Fotel is in the eastern foothills on the opposite side of the Gran Cordillera. It probably refers to Isnogs living so high on the crest of the watershed that they were identified with the Ilocos rather than the Cagayan side, and thus reflects the fact that the great watershed of northern Luzon did not prove a barrier to such Filipinos as wanted to cross it. And the events following the Andres Malong uprising a few years later make the implication clearer still.

When Andres Malong raised the standard of revolt in Pangasinan in 1660, he shrewdly circulated rumors that Manila had fallen into the hands of the Pampangueño rebels and that the Spaniards had been driven out of the archipelago. The parish priest of Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, foolishly accepted this propaganda at face value, and sent off a report to the Governor of Cagayan by means of a parishioner named Magsanop. This Magsanop is referred to in Spanish accounts as an Igorot, meaning a mountaineer, and was probably an Isnog from Calanasan, judging from the following events. He was also an *encomendero*, and *Maestro de Campo* of Bangui, an outstation of Bacarra, northern-

most Spanish mission on the Ilocos coast at the time. It is rare to find native Filipinos, Igorot or non-Igorot, appointed to such sensitive positions in the colonial government, but this area was the coastal frontier between Ilocos and Cagayan, and since neither Spaniards nor their vassals ventured to cross the Cordillera itself to reach their outposts in Cagayan, it made good sense to appoint a native mountaineer commander of this strategic area. These titles, however, proved insufficient to retain Magsanop's loyalty, and instead of delivering the letter, he read it—and then roused up 300 of his own followers in revolt. They were promptly joined by allies from the Cagayan coast and Isnegs from Calanasan, the uppermost settlement in the headwaters of the Apayao River. Part of Magsanop's strategy was a direct attack upon the new religion, and before he was captured by a combined force of Spaniards and Filipino mercenaries, he had ransacked churches, destroyed religious ornaments, persecuted faithful converts, and killed three friars. The Fotol mission disappeared in the process.

Whatever Magsanop's personal faith may have been, he had correctly analyzed the missionary's role in the foreign control that had been established along the coastal fringes of northern Luzon and was now pressing up the waterways into the interior. As soon as the revolt was put down, a military outpost was established at Bangui, and from there the friars began working their proselytizing way up the Bulu River to reach some Isnegs called Payaos who had not joined the rebellion. Some of these were resettled on the coast just east of Cape Bojeador (where their descendants today have forgotten their ancestors were mountaineers), but the headquarters of the mission remained in a mountain barrio on the Cordillera itself. Forty years later, an Agustinian chronicler said that these converts were "very useful as allies against the Calanasanas, a cruel and pagan tribe, and for this reason the Governors in Manila have exempted them from paying tribute."

Back in Fotol and Capinatan, mission work began again as usual after Magsanop's death, and ten years later one of Spain's greatest missionaries, Dominican Fray Pedro Jiménez, arrived to build two stone churches in the Apayao jungle with such speed local troops swore the walls grew up miraculously every night. Whatever these troops' credulity, their presence was another symbol of the changes that were taking place in the Apayao Valley. Isnegs in the garrison town were now subjected to different pressures, and began to have different interests, from their in-

dependent neighbors. Thus in 1684, a daring chieftain from upstream entered the fort in broad daylight and killed one Spaniard and one Filipino, and two years later the missions were suffering hunger because their inhabitants didn't dare go out to work their fields in the face of the feud which developed. Father Jiménez, by the shrewd use of local peaceacts and appeals to former converts, was able to patch up the quarrels. But still the upstream Mandayas would not come down: a generation before, some of their leaders had been treacherously killed in Capinatan and their heads taken. Therefore, after considerable soul-searching and argument with the military commander, Father Jiménez decided to go up the river himself, unescorted and unarmed and undeterred by a well circulated threat against his life.

The threat, as it turned out, came not from the people of the Apayao Valley, but from the Kalafugs just across the hills to the south in the Ripang-Conner area of the present Apayao-Kalinga border. A glance at the map will make their interest in Father Jiménez's movements understandable. Kalafug was on a headwater tributary of the Matalag River which flows directly into the Chico below Piat, but this route to Cagayan had been interrupted 70 years before by a Spanish mission only ten kilometers downstream at Malaueg—now Rizal, Cagayan. There the Spaniards began collecting tribute only five years after they began collecting it in Fotel, a fact which evidently did not escape Kalafug notice—at least, they participated in the revolt which cost Father Garcia's life in 1625. Now Father Jimenez was planning to open a new mission in what is today the Apayao sub-provincial capital of Kabugao. This would not only place the Kalafugs in between two outposts of colonial advance but threaten a trade-route to Dingras, Ilocos Norte, which supplied them with the means of maintaining their independence. Moreover, two years later another friar moved still farther up the Chico and started to write a grammar of the Itawis language on their southern flank. Thus the Kalafug threat to kill anybody who participated in the founding of Father Jiménez's new mission is not all that surprising.

When Father Jiménez finally met the Kalafugs in face-to-face parley under the protection of his Mandaya hosts, he told them it made no sense for them to be at war here in Cagayan and at peace over there in Ilocos just for the little trade they got out of it. It made no sense, that is, to anybody planning to divide all of northern Luzon into two Spanish provinces and reduce all the independent Filipinos in between to mere appendages of one or the other. But it probably made perfectly good sense to those

independent Filipinos themselves to come and go, buy and sell, and make military alliances as they pleased. Those in Kalafug accordingly crossed the mountains in 1690 and wiped out Father Jiménez's new Mission of Nuestra Señora de Peña Francia in Kabugao.

Father Jimenez's personal account of his mission to the Mandayas has survived in Dominican archives, and it contains another clue to the contradictions developing in the lower Apayao Valley. He calls everybody *indios*—or, as we say, Filipinos—but among them he distinguishes some as *Enemigos*. That he does not mean this word literally is indicated not only by his spelling it with a capital letter like a proper noun, but by the fact that he applies it to his hosts, companions and protectors as well as to the Kalafugs. But he only applies it to those who have not surrendered to Christ and King. The term itself is evidently the literal translation of an Ibanag word which vassal Filipinos in Cagayan were now applying to all their neighbors who did not join the new society. And since the terminology of the new majority ultimately became normative in the colony, by the end of the Spanish regime unsubjugated mountaineer neighbors farther south began to use it themselves. Thus American colonialists in their turn were able to apply this inappropriate Ibanag word to a whole sub-province and teach three generations of Filipinos born there to accept it with pride and confidence. The word is *Kalinga*.

This pagan-Christian, or independent-vassal, dichotomy continued after Father Jiménez's departure and death in 1690, and the Fitol-Capinatan missions did not spring back to their old vigorous life again. Missionary friars continued to come up from the coast for visitations, but could not overcome the effects of such incidents as the murder of 30 upstream Mandayas in Capinatan in 1732. Conditions in the frontier mission of Malaueg on the southeastern Isneg flank can also be cited to further illustrate the tensions. In 1740 two converts were killed by neighboring pagans, and their people accordingly went out, killed ten and captured five, and in 1741 made three more forays. Then the whole town was burned to the ground except the church, and everybody had to depend on the parish priest for emergency rations. At the same time, others migrated back to the hills to escape the tribute after they had fallen into hopeless debt to the mayor when they had been prevented from working their fields for two seasons by an epidemic of smallpox—a scourge unhappily introduced along with tribute and the Gospel in the first place.

A letter from the priest-in-charge of Malaueg dated June 24, 1741, also gives insight into the cultural changes accompanying these politico-religious conflicts. The letter includes two requests of his superiors—one for tools to proceed with the gilding of the church altar, and the other for clothing for those who had been unable to save enough to attend mass. That is, at a time when a modern theologian might think the raggedy fire victims had special need of the Sacraments, the hierarchy of value judgments in the colonial society gave precedence to sartorial propriety over spiritual need. So, too, a contemporary decree in Ilocos made it a crime punishable by 50 lashes to appear in a Christian town dressed in native Filipino attire, and in Cagayan forbade naked bathing. And when an expedition of Malaueg converts was sent out 20 years later, armed with headaxes, muskets and their priest's blessings, to punish the people of Fotel for failure to pay tribute, they reverted to G-strings to do so.

Yet contemporary missionary correspondence from Apayao makes it clear that Spanish friars there had not yet developed any scorn for the cultural minority they were unwittingly creating by acculturating the majority. When Fray José Tomás Marín spent three years hiking up and down the Apayao Valley and across the Cordillera, he addressed Isneg chieftains as "Don So-and-so" and they addressed him as "Joseph" not "Father." He describes them as gracious hosts—they went out to catch fish when they learned he wouldn't eat dogmeat, or any meat at all on Friday—and independent. Some said they might consider moving down to the missions if Cagayan produced as good textiles as Ilocos did (another example of doing business on the "wrong" side of the Cordillera), and one promised to be baptized if Father would send for his relatives in Isabelá. They spoke of an evil spirit around the missions called *Tributo* which ate people up, but invited the friars to settle among them or to come and go as they pleased on one condition—that it be put in writing that no tribute collectors would accompany them. They called Father Marín "the bravest father in the whole world" for his courage in coming into their territory, yet his own letters give no hint that his life was in any danger among them. In fact, like his great predecessor, Pedro Jiménez, he does not even mention the fact that they were headhunters.

But the fact was mentioned by confreres living in those colonized parts of the Philippines from which the custom had disappeared. Augustinian Fray Antonio Mozo, who never set foot in Apayao, reflected the attitude of both Spaniards and Filipinos in the more acculturated society by describing the Isnegs as bloodthirsty savages who lay in wait along the highways to

cut the heads off unwary travelers. So, too, a century later, Spanish minister Sinibaldo de Mas inveighed against the custom of calling such Filipinos "Don" as dangerous to the security of the colony because it failed to keep the Filipinos properly in their place. And when in 1919 after another three generations of white man's burdens and manifest destinies, Dominican historian Julián Malumbres told the story of one of Father Marín's converts who was baptized with the full name of his Spanish sponsor, he found it necessary to add a footnote explaining such lack of racial discrimination as being due to the missionary zeal of colonial officers in a happier day of Spanish empire.

The transcordilleran trade routes that Father Marín followed continued to be used up into the 20th century. During the Diego Silang uprising in 1763, an Augustinian friar in Banna, Ilocos Norte, tried to get Filipino allies to deny the rebels the use of these communications, and after he was released from a short captivity, he proceeded up to the Cordillera foothill mission of Solsona to send messages to Spanish forces in Cagayan by this means himself. A southern branch of this same route reached the watershed at Anayan on the Abra border, and from there it was possible to reach Vigan in three days on horseback. After Father Marín's day, Spaniards did not make use of these Isneg trails themselves, but other Filipinos did: an 1805 report from the Cagayan Valley states that Ilocano traders reached Malaueg—that is, Rizal—by crossing Apayao over such a route. It is significant that the report refers to these Ilocanos as "embezzlers" or "shysters"—*extraviadores*—for, in the eyes of the colonial government, all this independence and untaxed commerce was strictly illegal. But by the beginning of the 19th century, the colonial government's views on legality weren't very important in Apayao: the Spanish missions in Fotel and Capinatan were never reopened, and the Isnegs were left free to pursue happiness as their ancestors had pursued it, trading or fighting with their neighbors as they chose.

Such fighting and trading of course threatened the security of Spanish subjects, the collection of internal revenue, and the maintenance of government monopolies, and was therefore a thorn in the side of Spanish sovereignty which grew more irritating with the passage of time. After the invention of the Remington repeating rifle, therefore, Governor Valeriano Weyler decided to end all this independence, once and for all. In 1891 he accordingly announced the occupation of Apayao by the creation of the *Comandancias Politico-Militares* of Cabugaoan and Apayaos. The latter of these was garrisoned at Malunog on the River only 20

kilometers from the coast and never extended its authority as far upstream as Fotel, and the former had its headquarters in Piddig, Ilocos Norte, and never entered the mountains at all. Clues to this failure to carry out the occupation are probably to be found in two incidents which happened at the time.

In 1888, some mountaineers attacked Dingras and the Governor of Ilocos Norte sent a punitive expedition into the mountains to retaliate. On the Cordillera, the soldiers and their commander were hospitably received by a local chief named Onsi. This Onsi had been cooperative with the colonial government in the past and, as a matter of fact, had been decorated with the Cross of Civil Merit for his services. All day, therefore, he feasted and entertained his visitors in good Filipino fashion. Then, suddenly, the troop commander had about 40 of his host's people surrounded, and accused them of having made the attack on Dingras. When Chief Onsi protested their innocence, the commander drew his revolver, emptied all six chambers into the Isneg leader, and gave his men the order to open fire. Sixteen Isnegs were shot down in cold blood. The Spanish government brought the officer to trial for this unmilitary behavior, but the next trading party of Ilocanos who went into the area on business never came out again.

An almost identical case happened in the Apayaos commandancy in Malunog just four years later. The Commandant there gave a party in the garrison headquarters on the occasion of his birthday and invited all the prominent Isnegs from Pamplona to Tawit to attend. In the midst of the feasting and drinking, he suddenly had his guests surrounded and ordered some of them seized and bound as suspects of the murder of seven Negritos. Some of the Apayaos managed to snatch up their weapons, however, so the soldiers opened fire, killing one outright and wounding many others. The suspects were then seized and imprisoned, but the government took no action against the commandant. Father Julián Malumbres happened to be in Capinatan at the time, cleaning two centuries of jungle growth off Father Jiménez's old church, and when he heard of the treacherous deed, he asked for custody of the prisoners and took them back up to Capinatan with him. But there they made an attack upon his life, and he always afterwards believed that the local military authorities had deliberately misinformed them that he had been responsible for the treachery. Needless to say, the mission of Capinatan was not reopened.

Before Governor General Weyler attempted to establish the

two Apayao commandancies, he asked the Augustinians for information about the area. Fray Ricardo Deza of Dingras responded with a sketch map and the statement that the Isnegs were unapproachable because of their living by the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and always lying in wait for a chance to take some Christian traveller. In drawing this conclusion, Father Deza evidently did not find the recent example of Spanish behavior noteworthy, or the fact that a German pharmacist by the name of Schadenberg had just visited the remote barrios of Calanasan the year before. He also seems to have forgotten that all his data had been supplied by a half-dozen Ilocano businessmen and petty officials who had been hiking safely in and out of Apayao for decades. In other words, if Apayao was unsafe for Spanish commanders and their friar compatriots, it wasn't unsafe for other people. The reason Father Deza missed this message is probably because, like those treacherous commanders themselves and Blas Villamor 20 years later, he lived at the end of a colonial process which had steadily divided the Filipino people into two categories—the submissive and the unsubmissive, the faithful and the faithless, the good and the bad. The Isnegs of Apayao clearly belonged to the latter group. No longer simple *indios* like everybody else as they had been in the days of Bishop Aduarte and Fathers Jiménez and Marín, they were now outcasts, brigands and savages. They were different from other Filipinos, and therefore deserved different treatment. They were, in short, a cultural minority.

This, then, is a brief summary of the recorded contacts between the Spaniards and the people of Apayao, but it is enough to illustrate the colonial experience of the Filipino people in far northern Luzon. So far as we can tell, this people was divided into three language groups at the time of the Spanish advent. Those in the lower Cagayan Valley spoke Ibanag, those on the coastal plain along the South China Sea, Ilocano, and those in the mountains in between, Isneg. None of these groups was united; none had kings or common governments, and none was either a minority or a majority. They were all composed of independent baranganic communities whose relations with each other, whether of the same language or different, varied from isolation to cooperation or conflict according to circumstances. Then, under colonial pressure, Filipinos in two of these groups submitted to foreign domination while those in the third did not. So, as the years of occupation passed, the Ilocanos and Ibanags gave up more and more of their own culture to assimilate more and more of their conquerors' culture. In the process, they became

more and more like each other and less and less like their ancestors. The Isnags, on the other hand, preserved more of the culture of their ancestors and so came to look less and less like their acculturating neighbors. By the end of the Spanish regime, this divergence had created a real Filipino majority for the first time in history—those Filipinos who had the same king—the Spanish King. And those who did not were just cultural communities. Thus by the magic of colonial alchemy, those who changed most became today's Filipinos while those who changed least were actually denied this designation by a former president of the state university. In this way a cultural minority was created where none had existed.

Crusade or Commerce?

Spanish-Moro Relations in the 16th Century¹

It has often been said that Spanish relations with Muslim Filipinos were dominated by a Crusading spirit. By this is meant an unrelenting drive to stamp out Islam, characterized by a fanatical hatred to which any considerations of politics or economics were either secondary or incidental. Extreme proponents of this view have considered commercial competition a mere tactic of this Crusade: as Dominican Fray Francisco Antolín put it in 1793, "The best means of waging war against an enemy power is to deprive him of his most profitable commerce."²

But it is possible to interpret the same relations from precisely the opposite point of view—that is, that the Cross followed the commerce rather than vice versa. In this view, commercial competition would be seen, not as a means for waging war, but as the purpose for doing so. Kings and emperors would accordingly outfit expensive expeditions and sacrifice their subjects' lives not out of religious fanaticism but out of hope of gain. Spanish-Muslim relations would therefore be characterized not by hatred of Islam but by love of profit.

This article looks into the historic circumstances under which the first Spanish-Muslim contacts were made in the Philippines to test these two theories.

When Ferdinand Magellan offered to sell his services and the secrets of the Portuguese spice trade to Spanish King Charles in 1517, Charles was a 17-year-old boy who had only arrived in Spain the month before and could not even speak Spanish. He had neither a crown nor a living allowance, and before Magellan set sail had inherited a multimillion-dollar debt from his grandfather Maximilian who had died in such penury his grocery bills were literally being paid by his banker. For all practical purposes, therefore, it was not Charles who made the decision to

¹ A shorter, unannotated version of this article appeared in *The Diliman Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (March-April 1980), pp. 8-10, 36.

² W. H. Scott, "An original eighteenth-century view of Spanish rights of conquest," *Unitas*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Sept. 1970), p. 49.

sign a commercial contract with Magellan, but a German banker by the name of Jacob Fugger. And Jacob Fugger's motives were admirably unmixed—he wanted to realize some return on the nine million dollars he had loaned Charles's grandfather.

Magellan's agreement with the King was a straightforward business contract which stated what each party was to contribute and to receive. His instructions specified the precise amount of deck space and cabin stowage each member of the ship's company was to be allotted for carrying his own merchandise and the percentage of the spoils of war to be enjoyed by everybody from captain to cabin boy. His Majesty's wares were to be sold first and at the best price, and all pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones were to be reserved for him. Gifts and commercial advantages were to be offered kings or chieftains—but not weapons or iron tools—hostilities were to be avoided as being inimical to future trade, and ships' guns were not to be discharged for fear of frightening the natives. And under no circumstances was Magellan to leave the flagship himself or set foot ashore. Thus, all those mass baptisms in Cebu and heroics in Mactan were in direct disobedience to his orders.

Magellan's instructions also spelled out the purpose of his voyage:

The main thing you have to find on this voyage is the locations of the places or territory which you will have to settle, noting where it is necessary that settlements be made on the seacoast for the security of navigation and for the greater security of those ashore; and those which are needed for safe navigation should be built in high or airy places and not down in valleys, unless they are in places where ships coming from here can make use of them to take on supplies and water and other things necessary for their voyage; and this both in places where settlements are already to be found and where new ones will be made, and you must see that they can be built in healthful sites not liable to flooding, and where they can use the sea for loading and unloading without the labor of carrying the merchandise sent from here overland; and if, in order to be nearer some trade or mines you would have to go into the interior, it must be seen that the settlement can be near some river so that the things coming from here can be transported by it from the sea to the populations, because, there being no sort of beasts of burden out there, it would be great labor for men, which neither those from here

nor those from the Indies could endure.³

Special articles dealt with any Moros who might be encountered. If they were on the Spanish side of the Papal Line of Demarcation, their ships were to be hailed and taken in fair fight, important persons ransomed off, and the others sold as quickly as possible to avoid the expense of feeding them. If their ports of origin lay on the Portuguese side of the Line, they were to be firmly sent away and bidden never to return, and those who tried to resist might be treated with enough cruelty to serve as a warning to others. But if they came from the Spanish side, they were to be dealt with in accordance with articles 17 and 18:

17. And if some of the said Moros are natives of lands which lie within our demarcations in which you see or learn there is merchandise or gold from which we could profit, it would be good that they be well treated for this reason, and that you explain that the reason you took the ships was that you thought they belonged to people with whom we do not wish to make peace or have trade.

18. Upon arriving at the ports of which such Moros are natives, you shall send one of them ashore to make known to its king or governors that you have come there by our order to make peace and trade with them, and if they wish to accept it, you shall freely release all those whom you have captive, and give back everything they brought with them, by which action they will see that our purpose is not to do harm to those who are willing to make a treaty of peace and trade merchandise with us.⁴

By the time Magellan's survivors returned to Spain, Charles had borrowed another three million dollars from the House of Fugger to buy the title of Holy Roman Emperor. The voyage had produced a half-million dollars worth of spices—every ounce of which had been purchased from Muslims—and cost more than 200 Spanish lives—not one of which had been taken by Muslims. Charles and the Fuggers therefore sent out a second expedition with even more businesslike instructions: article 33, for ex-

³ "Instrucción que dió el Rey a Magallanes y a Falero para el viage al descubrimiento de las islas del Maluco," *Collección de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV* ... (Madrid 1837), Vol. 4, p. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

ample, ordered cooperation with Moros in Timor and Borneo to hire local vessels and man them.⁵ Two years later, fighting on three fronts in Europe with his war chests emptier than ever, Charles mounted a third expedition to the Spice Islands. While it was outfitting in Mexico, imperial armies full of German Protestants subjected Rome to the most destructive sacking it had ever suffered, and took the Pope prisoner. Not for another decade was Charles ready to try again. He then borrowed another half million from the Fuggers to fight Turks, sold all claim to the Philippines for still another half million, and waited a decent 24 months before sending orders to the Viceroy of Mexico to start preparations for the occupation of that archipelago. So thick-skinned is the conscience of a bankrupt monarch who recognizes his duty to preserve and expand a Christian kingdom.

Ironically, all these attempts to tap the spice trade may very well have figured in the accounts of the Royal Exchequer as Crusades. One of the main sources of royal income was the *Bula de Cruzada*—the Crusade Bull. This was a privilege granted by every Pope since the thirteenth century for the sale of indulgences to compensate Iberian monarchs for their expenses in fighting infidels. By the time Charles's son Philip II managed to bring Spain an unaccustomed few years of peace and send Legazpi out to make his father's dream come true, it amounted to more than six million pesos a year.

The documentary records generated by these expeditions show them to have been businesslike undertakings. Every one of their five commanders prohibited his men from buying Philippine gold so as not to inflate its price. And when Charles graciously returned three slaves sent him by the Sultan of Tidore, he retained a fourth who had spent too much time in the marketplace comparing the price of spices and currency exchange rates. A document still exists in the Archives of the Indies which records the ransom the "Governor of Palawan" captured in 1521 paid for his freedom, and so does another which attests to the amount of His Majesty's copper wire delivered as indemnification for a Muslim ship taken in 1565. And if any of the survivors of the Cebu Massacre nursed a hatred for Islam so fanatical it could inter-

⁵ "And because there are no ships in that land for long voyages, and it is desirable to explore the lands near the Moluccas, vessels should be procured from Timor and Borneo, which are the best, because if the Moros themselves are taken into the business, they will be glad to sail in them."
—Antonio de Herrera *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierrafirme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid 1601), Vol. 2, p. 277.

fere with business, they were able to control it long enough to kiss a Moluccan sultan's hand and slaughter all their pigs so as not to offend his Muslim nostrils while he repaired their ships and loaded them with spices.

Nor was profit in the spice trade any respecter of race or religion. That Muslim vessel captured in 1565 belonged to a Portuguese businessman living in Borneo, but its cargo belonged to the Sultan of Brunei. And when Spaniards encountered the Portuguese in Ternate, they fought their Iberian brothers from the decks of Muslim warships. (Andres Urdaneta was so horribly burned in battle under Kitchil Rede, brother of the King of Tidore, that common gossip attributed his becoming a monk to the fact that no woman would marry him.)

Indeed, the case can be made that whatever success the Spaniards enjoyed during their first 50 years in the Philippines was obtained through cordiality with Moros. It was a Muslim merchant who induced Saripada Humabon of Cebu to receive Magellan without demanding harbor fees. It was the Sultan of Gilolo who sent two boats to ransom off Spanish captives in Leyte and Samar during the Villalobos expedition, and the Sultan of Brunei who rescued three others who had been sold to the King of Maguindanao (probably Sharif Kabungsuwan himself). It was a Bornean pilot who acted as adviser to Legazpi in dealing with the Boholanos, and an old Muslim married in Cebu who acted as his interpreter in that port. And, *mirabile dictu*, it was Manila Muslims who saved his whole expeditionary force from being starved out by Cebuanos who left their fields unplanted for two years for just that purpose.

As Legazpi's chronicler says:

Truly, had God not mercifully provided for them, they would have been in even greater trouble and need than they were, for two or three times when they were in dire and absolute want, some ships of Moro merchants from Luzon arrived at the camp without their knowing where they came from or why, whom the Governor received very well and paid what they wanted, so the camp was supplied and had enough to eat, whereas, had they had to maintain it by making war on the natives, they would certainly have been lost and perished.⁶

But the most fateful Muslim service to Spanish invasion was

⁶ "Relación muy circunstanciada de lo ocurrido en el Real y Campo de la Isla de Zubu de las Islas Philipinas desde 1^o de Junio de 1565 ..." *Collección de Documentos inéditos de Ultramar*, II Series, Vol. 3 (Madrid 1887), pp. 163-164.

that rendered by a talkative Bornean pilot the Spanish account calls a "chatterbox" who gave Legazpi a description of Moro trade within the archipelago. The Spaniards already knew the patterns in the southern Philippines from their ill-fated predecessors—that is, the Mindanao connection with Malacca, Borneo and the Moluccas. But what about all those Chinese goods? And the reports of actual Chinese junks anchored in ports like Butuan? The talkative Bornean supplied the key to this puzzle:

Since what they carry are goods from China, boats from Borneo and Luzon are called Chinese junks in these islands, and even the Moros themselves are called Chinese, but in fact Chinese junks do not reach there [i.e., Butuan] because they are very big and not fit for sailing between these islands.⁷

Now the picture was clear. Chinese goods were brought to Manila in seagoing junks and carried into the archipelago in shallow-draft Moro outriggers, and Moro outposts on the north coast of Mindoro guaranteed this monopoly on domestic distribution. Then an east-west trade route carried Indian wares from Portuguese Malacca along the coast of Borneo direct to the international entrepôts of Butuan and Cebu, while a Moluccan branch of the same route crossed the Sulu Archipelago, passed through the Basilan Strait, and veered south at Sarangani.

With this information, the Conquistador's work was cut out for him. First, Mindoro must be neutralized to give access to Manila. Then, Manila must be taken to capture the China trade. Next, Borneo must be reduced to break the Malaccan connection. And lastly, Jolo and Maguindanao must be neutralized for direct access to the Spice Islands to the south. Of course, it is unlikely that Legazpi or any other Spanish commander ever envisioned this grand strategy in its entirety. But in historic fact, this is the strategy which was actually carried out in a series of Spanish acts of aggression—Mindoro in 1570, Manila in 1571, Borneo and Jolo in 1578, Mindanao in 1579, and the Moluccas in 1582. These were the real opening engagements of the 300-year Moro Wars.

⁷ "Relación del viaje y jornada que el armada de su majestad hizo en el descubrimiento de las islas del poniente que partió del puerto de la navidad el año mil y quinientos y sesenta y quatro años, de que fué por general el muy Ilustre Señor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi," Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Vol. 13 (Manila 1978), p. 467.

In view of the historic events which have just been surveyed, it hardly seems necessary to invoke religious bigotry or fanatical hatred to account for the Moro Wars. True, Spanish military efficiency was no doubt enhanced by a piety that eased kings' consciences and a prejudice which released *conquistadores'* adrenalin. No doubt, too, their victims' religion was as much a target as their trade: after all, any community wealthy and cohesive enough to build a mosque was probably strong and determined enough to defend both its religion and its trade. Yet it is hard to doubt that the same wars would have been fought under the same circumstances and with the same motives even if those Muslim targets had been Portuguese or Chinese—or Hottentot.

Crusades the Moro Wars may well have been, and true crusading zeal may have fired them. But if so, they were crusades for commerce, not for Christ.

Filipino-Spanish Face-to-Face Contacts 1543-1545

The first attempt by any European power to occupy the Philippine Archipelago was an unqualified failure: it not only failed to occupy, but of the 370 men who tried, only 146 survived until the final evacuation two years later. The rest were either dead or enslaved. This was the Ruy Gómez de Villalobos expedition of 1543-1545 sent out by the Viceroy of Mexico under orders from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to establish a colony near the Portuguese-occupied Spice Islands of the Moluccas. From the standpoint of European expansion, it accomplished nothing. From the standpoint of the Filipino people, it accomplished almost nothing—it simply stamped them for four centuries with the name of a 14-year-old Iberian prince. It is therefore not surprising that the whole debacle receives little attention in standard histories of either Spain or the Philippines.

Yet for purposes of understanding the unhispanized Filipino people on the eve of foreign conquest, the eye-witness accounts left by the Villalobos expedition are worthy of scrutiny. Members of the expedition spent 16 months wandering around the archipelago looking for food and waiting for winds that would take them back to Mexico. One ship alone, the little *San Juan de Letrán* with a skeleton crew of only twenty men, logged more than 5,000 kilometers in Philippine waters, including those of the San Bernardino Strait between Luzon and Samar and the San Juanico Strait between Samar and Leyte, and completely circumnavigated the Island of Mindanao. The first-hand reports of these ill-starred *conquistadores* are rich in the details they observed in face-to-face contact with dozens of Filipino chiefs, hosts, and antagonists—the size and shape of their ships, the amount of gold they wore on their persons, or the potency of their poisoned arrows. More importantly, the details of Philippine foreign contacts provide a glimpse of the political and economic scene in the archipelago in a day when Luzon was still the eastern terminus of a Malaccan trade route, Cebu and Butuan were international entrepôts, and Sarangani Island was the last landfall for

southbound traffic headed for the Moluccas.

It was on Sarangani Island that the first face-to-face contact was made on April 1, 1543. There were only four settlements on the island at the time, and adults in any one of them might easily have remembered earlier European contacts. In 1521, for example, a Spanish ship had kidnapped two of their pilots, and in 1526 they themselves had sold three Spaniards to Sharif Kabungsuwan of Maguindanao—one of them a debt slave, the other two outright purchases. They therefore responded unambiguously when two Spanish boats now approached their shores, and drove them off with arrows, wounding five or six of their occupants. They had no firearms of their own but they knew what to expect, so they augmented the palisade of tree trunks which was their first line of defense with a barricade of boats pulled up on the beach and filled with sand. When the attack came, they retired to a fortified settlement in the hills naturally protected by cliffs, evacuated their women and children, and put up a spirited resistance before withdrawing in the face of Spanish firepower, carrying as much gold and porcelain as they could and burying the rest. Then while the invaders were looting and digging up the village, they all escaped to the Mindanao mainland.

The next contact was made at the mouth of the Pulangi River where the reputation of a Maguindanao trading center had attracted the hungry Spaniards. The local ruler, Sharif Makaalang Saripada, no doubt had his own memories of earlier contacts. In 1521, Spaniards had kidnapped an uncle of his who escaped by jumping overboard off Sangi Island and swimming ashore with his small son on his back, though the child lost his hold and was drowned. When the Spanish ship now put a boat in the water to sound the bar at the mouth of the river, they quickly surrounded it and attacked, killing one Spaniard and wounding the others. As the survivors sailed back to Sarangani, hungrier than ever, they established a third contact. Sighting ripened rice fields along the coast, they landed and started to harvest, but paid for the crop in Spanish blood when the owners of the fields killed several of them before taking to the hills. Their next contact was of a very different kind—two boats from Ternate with Portuguese officers aboard, who put some Moluccans ashore to encourage their Mindanao trading partners not to sell food to the Spaniards and to offer military assistance if needed. Then they delivered a diplomatic note to Villalobos demanding that he depart and stop harassing what the note referred to as vassals of the Portuguese King.

Just then a Spanish vessel showed up which had been lost during a storm at sea before the fleet even reached Mindanao.

This was a galliot, a small vessel with oars as well as sails: it had been driven ashore on Limasawa Island where it stayed for two months before heading south with a load of rice and other foodstuffs to look for the Commander. Villalobos sent it right back to the Visayas for revictualing, accompanied by the *San Juan* which was to stock up for a Pacific crossing and then head for Mexico. This double goal was accomplished in Leyte and Samar—which the Spaniards called the *Filipinas*—and the *San Juan* sailed off into the Philippine Sea on August 26, 1543. The galliot didn't get back to Sarangani with supplies until October, and Villalobos then decided to move north to the Visayas himself. Unfortunately, a strong current flows south along the east coast of Mindanao at about the speed of a Spanish galleon, so, with no winds at that season to overcome it, he had to seek shelter only halfway up the coast. Then, more sensibly, he made use of three Philippine *barangays* whose outriggers and shallow draft fitted them better to hug the reef-ringed shore. They were sent out with the galliot, one after the other, in early November—two with about thirty men in each, and a smaller faster one called a *calaluz* with only sixteen aboard.

The galliot was the first to run into trouble. Somewhere in the Visayas its crew was ambushed while trying to buy food, and eleven killed: the survivors were soon so weak from hunger they could neither row nor bail, and so drifted helplessly back down to the Mindanao anchorage, empty. Villalobos then desperately sent them to "Resurrection Bay"—now Mayo, Davao Oriental—for repairs, and when they did not return, went to look for them. At Resurrection Bay he found no more sign of them than a letter at the foot of a tree saying they had set sail for the Moluccas because of the prevailing winds and current. So, with nothing more to look forward to than starvation in Mindanao, Villalobos gave up and followed, reaching Tidore in April 1544.

The little *calaluz*, meanwhile, had fared even worse. It ran aground near the mouth of the Abuyog River on eastern Leyte, and was seized and destroyed by Filipinos who took all its occupants captives. (Three of them survived to serve their Filipino masters eighteen or twenty years, and a Mexican cabin boy was adopted, married, and tattooed into Visayan society and then poisoned by a jealous Cebuana lady 25 years later.) The other two *barangays* reached Abuyog a little later, one of them after losing fourteen men on the northeast coast of Mindanao. After waiting a month and suffering two more deaths, they decided to shift to Samar. There, at the mouth of the Basey River, one of the boats was wrecked in the middle of the night with a loss

of ten lives, so the other one headed back to Resurrection Bay with an Augustinian friar in command, leaving 21 of their comrades divided up as guests—or hostages—in the homes of local chieftains. At the foot of the tree in Resurrection Bay, they found a note from Villalobos, so, leaving a note of their own, they set out to follow him. But off the Talaud Islands they were caught in a typhoon and blown 1,000 kilometers to the north; forty days later they managed to make Basey more dead than alive. There they learned that the Mexico-bound *San Juan* had returned and ransomed off their comrades, taken them on board, and sailed off. The last *barangay* was now too badly damaged to be seaworthy, so they beached it under one of the houses, moved in with Filipino hosts, and waited to be rescued.

The *San Juan* had not made it to Mexico. Running into a storm in the North Pacific, it had been blown back to the Marianas, and then returned to the *Filipinas* where it reached the north coast of Samar on October 31, 1543—at the very time, that is, when Villalobos was abandoning Sarangani and dispatching all those little boats. They anchored in a well-protected harbor in the thickly populated bay at the mouth of the Catubig River, and were so well-received by the inhabitants that they were even shown the local gold mines. They were able to buy all the rice and pigs they wanted in exchange for Chinese porcelain they had looted in Sarangani, and then they sailed westward from village to village because the strong northeasterly winds prevented them from rounding the eastern headland. In one town they were cordially received by a Chief Kobos who made them presents and gave them a *calaluz* because their own ship's boat had been stolen. (They got it back by holding Kobos hostage—"thus repaying him for his good will," as the Spanish account says—and then, learning that another chief by the name of Turriss had been party to the theft, went ashore, took his town, and killed him.) Then, on January 3, 1544, in the treacherous currents off the northwestern corner of Samar, they did just what dozens of Spanish vessels were to do for the next three centuries—ran aground in San Bernardino Strait. The *San Juan* hung up on the rocks for two days before they got her afloat by jettisoning cargo, and was damaged in the process.

Then, proceeding down the western coast of Samar, they learned about the San Juanico passage from a chief called Si Katubay, but were attacked by three boats while taking soundings in the *calaluz*. After fighting their way free, they learned about the two boatloads of Spaniards on the Leyte coast at Abuyog. But, mindful of their Commander's plight when they had left him six months before, they headed for Sarangani instead.

There, of course, they did not find him, and so concluded that he must be among those Spaniards back in Abuyog. They therefore cut trees to replace their damaged mainmast and bowsprit, losing a boatswain to Sarangani vengeance in the process, and then set sail. Since the northeasterlies were still blowing, they headed west along the south coast of Mindanao—carefully avoiding the mouth of the Pulangi River, of course—and passed between Zamboanga and Basilan into the normal trade route from Borneo and Sulu to the southern Visayas. They had a good trip, bought whatever they needed along the coast, put in at Limasawa, and then rescued their comrades in Basey. From them they learned that Villalobos had transferred to the coast of Mindanao the preceding November, so they sailed back to Resurrection Bay and picked up their mail, so to speak—a letter from Villalobos announcing his departure for the Moluccas, and another from the Augustinian friar dated only nine days before, stating that he was following the Commander in the last surviving *barangay*. Since the *San Juan* had no way of knowing that the friar and his *barangay* had meanwhile been blown back to Samar, they left their own letter, proceeded south, and reached Tidore two months later.

Before the *San Juan* arrived, however, Villalobos had sent a rescue mission in two ships supplied by the Sultan of Gilolo (northern Halmahera). The performance of this little taskforce provides a nice testimony to the advantages of making use of native boats, native crews, and native skills: it successfully accomplished its mission without losing a life, firing a shot, or missing a meal. Leaving Tidore just as the southwest monsoon was starting to blow at the end of May, they hired two blacksmiths and an interpreter in Minahasi, Suwalesi, and another on Balut Island opposite Sarangani who proved to be as full of information about Filipino people, politics, and natural resources as a modern tour guide. From Balut they sailed right up the Mindanao coast which no Spanish ship had been able to navigate—stopping off at the tree in Resurrection Bay en route, of course—called at Limasawa, and then ransomed off five Spaniards in Leyte and thirteen in Samar, repaired the damaged *barangay* with the help of the Suwalesi blacksmiths, and bought back a Spanish cannon which divers from Basey had recovered from the sunken *barangay*. Their only failure was their inability to meet the price demanded for three Spanish captives on the west coast of Samar, who were thus left behind to spend the rest of their lives serving their Filipino masters as warriors. (The last of them, Juan Flores, disappeared with thirty of his Filipino townmates on a raid in 1562.) With the arrival of the three Gilolo

and Philippine vessels in Tidore in October 1544, the first Spanish attempt to establish a colony in the Philippines came to its ignominious end. Its commander himself died six months later of a tropical fever—or, as the Portuguese said, a broken heart.

All these unhappy adventures gave the Spaniards plenty of time to observe Filipinos and Filipino behavior: there was hardly a day from early 1543 to late 1544 when they did not have some sort of face-to-face contact. They fought, traded, and made blood compacts with Filipinos; they slept in their houses, ate their food, and sailed in their boats; they killed and captured them and were killed and captured by them; and some of them served them as slaves for decades afterwards. Their recorded observations are therefore interesting enough to be quoted at length. Italian pilot Giovanni Gaetano of the *San Juan*, first Spanish ship to circumnavigate Mindanao, for example, provides our first general description of that island:

This island is very large: after circumnavigating it we found that it was 2,200 kilometers around, and extends mainly east and west; its highest latitude will be in $11^{\circ} 30'$, the lowest in 5° or 6° . It is inhabited by many and varied people: there are Moros, gentiles, and different kings and lords who wear certain clothes without sleeves, short, like Marlottas, which they call *patolas*, and the rich have them of silk like tafetta, and the other people of cotton and in different styles. They have many offensive arms of iron and steel, such as scimitars, daggers, and spears; and defensive arms they make of animal hide, which is tougher and stronger than that of *Anta*. In a certain part of the island which the Moros rule over, there is small artillery. There are pigs, deer, and buffalos in that island, and other animals of the chase, and Castilian chickens, and rice and palms and coconuts. There is no corn in it, but they use rice for bread, and a bark which they call *sagu*, from which oil is extracted as from palms and they make bread of it in that land. There is very special gold, which is dug out of mines in the same land; they value it, and use it for exchange, and wear chains and jewelry made of it. On the headland of this island on the west, there is much cinnamon, and the Portuguese touch there when they go to the Moluccas.¹

Garcia Descalante Alvarado, who commanded the final rescue

¹ Giovanni B. Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venice 1554, 2nd ed.), Vol. 1, fol. 375-v.

mission in the Gilolo ships, recorded some information he got from Leyte Chieftain si Katinga—though he thought that was the name of his barrio rather than his own name, a common error in 16th-century Spanish accounts.

Having picked up the Spaniards, I sailed along the coast of Abuyo Island [Leyte], and the *indios* [i.e., Moluccans] in the boats captured an old Filipino along the coast, from the town of Sicatinga, and because he had made peace with the Chief, I ransomed him from those who had taken him, and took him back to his town. Desiring to get information from him about various things of the land, I took him to the Reverend Fray Gerónimo Santiesteban, with a Spaniard who knew that language, and when I asked him if there was any large town on the Island of Abuyo, he said, yes, that on the other side of the island on the northeast was a large town called Sugut [perhaps Tacloban or Carigara?], and that junks go there every year belonging to the Chinese who normally stay there and have a house there with their merchandise. What they buy there, he said, was gold and some slaves; he also told me that in the Island of Zubú [Cebu] there were living Spaniards from Magellan's time, and that Chinese are accustomed to come there to buy gold and certain jewelry because that island has it. And near Zubú, he said, there was another large island which is called Bulane [Butuan], which is rich in gold, and junks from many places come to it and trade with them. On the north side of Tandaya [Samar], he said, is an island which is called Albay, and there are gold mines in it. And on the same north side of Tandaya, he said, there is another island, ten days' journey from Tandaya in their ships, which is called Amuco. The people there are white and bearded, and in some parts of it they eat human flesh. They have large ships, and some artillery; they trade with other islands and with China, and have a lot of gold and a very great quantity of silver. From the Philippines to that island, he said, runs a chain of islands.²

Since the Spaniards were in the Philippines for purposes of trade, they naturally took note of any signs of trade which al-

² García Descalante Alvarado, "Relación del viage que hizo desde la Nueva España a las Islas del Poniente Ruy Gómez de Villalobos." *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones españolas en América y Océanía*, Vol. 5 (1886), pp. 140-141.

ready existed. At Sarangani, for example, "a lot of gold was found and some bells, different from ours, which these people prize for their festivities; and much perfume was found—musk, ambergris, civet, benzoin, storax, and others in both cakes and oils, which they buy from Chinese who come to Mindanao and the *Filipinas* [i.e., Leyte and Samar]."³ They also naturally took note of anybody else, Filipino or non-Filipino, who was there for the same purpose. Even Portuguese Governor Antonio Galvano of Ternate was able to publish their observations of mercantile shipping in waters west of Samar:

There are also ships with oars, 20 meters long and four and a half meters wide, with boards 8 cm. thick, and they said that they sailed in them to China; that if they wished to go there, they would give them pilots for the trip, and that it would be no more than five or six days' travel. Boats and *calaluzes* also came to them, well wrought and nicely adorned, and the lords were seated above and down below some negroes with kinky hair, according to their stations. On being asked where they got them, they replied from some islands near Cebu and Mactan where there are many, at which the Spaniards were greatly surprised because there are no black people for more than 1,800 kilometers from there.⁴

The dynamics of power seem quite clear from the Spanish experience. Wherever they went ashore in small numbers from small boats with no Filipino guide or companions, they were attacked, killed, captured, or held for ransom. But when they showed up in a man-o-war, they were only attacked when the attackers' settlements were beyond range of the ship's guns—as in the case of Sarangani and Maguindanao. (Even those rice fields they raided along the Mindanao coast were protected by coral reefs: when Villalobos later sent a warship with 70 soldiers against their owners, it ran aground five kilometers away and was lost with all arms and supplies.) They were also attacked while taking soundings in strategic waters—at the mouth of the Pulangi River, for instance, or the western entrance to the San Juanico Strait. It is to be noted further that they were not attacked when they were traveling in Moluccan boats manned by Moluccan warriors: quite the opposite, on their way back to Tidore, they were approached by Sarangani chiefs who wanted

³ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴ Antonio Galvano, *Tratado dos Descobrimientos antigos e modernos* (1563; 3rd ed. Oporto 1731), pp. 277-278.

to sue for peace.

This Moluccan connection is not surprising: it represents one of the Filipinos' major trade connections outside the archipelago. Only five years before the Villalobos expedition, the Portuguese had baptized five or six Mindanao chieftains and taken their sons off to Ternate where they were taught to read and write in the Governor's house. The same governor also introduced adult Filipinas to produce Portuguese mestizos in the fort itself, as well as two Mindanao species of palm trees and a particular kind of melon. The western tip of Mindanao was one of the landfalls on the Malacca-Borneo-Sulu-Moluccas route: ships veered right at Sarangani and proceeded to Halmahera via the Talaud and Sangi Islands. That is why Descalante's Talaud interpreter was so knowledgeable about the area—e.g., "Along the coast of Cesárea [i.e., Mindanao], he showed me the towns, and told me that it was a very thickly populated island in the interior, but that the coast was depopulated because of their wars."⁵ It is tempting to think that this Moluccan connection reflected a common faith—that is, Islam—but since the Muslim Sultan of Ternate was allied with the Portuguese in a 25-year-old war with the Muslim Sultan of Tidore who was allied with the Spaniards, a common love of profit in the spice trade would seem a more likely explanation.

The China connection is also clear in the accounts. Gold is reported to be their main object, a mineral mentioned repeatedly in all five accounts from the Villalobos expedition, as well as in every other Spanish account between 1521 and 1571. Indeed, the reader gets the impression the Spaniards never saw a Filipino who was not wearing gold on his person—whether earrings, necklaces, bracelets, or dental inlays. The Chinese are also reported as being in the market for slaves: they apparently bought five of Magellan's men who survived the Cebu Massacre of April 1, 1521. (It is necessary to say "apparently" inasmuch as Visayans later in the century were referring to Moro ships from Luzon and Borneo as "Chinese" because they dealt in Chinese goods—such as two that were anchored in Butuan in Descalante's time buying gold and slaves.) The porcelain, silk stuffs, and metal gongs which appear as their major merchandise are to be expected, but the great amount of perfumes and unguents found in Sarangani is noteworthy since these are non-Chinese products of the tropics. The same is to be said of the *patola* cloth reported in Mindanao: this is evidently a non-Chinese product of Indian origin, and was reported from the Malay Peninsula as

⁵ Descalante, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

long ago as a Chinese trade report of 1349. What is significant about these products is that they are evidences of a much more cosmopolitan commerce than mere trade runs between the coast of China and the Philippines.

But it is a third connection, mentioned for the first time in the Villalobos accounts, which is most interesting—Si Katinga's description of "Amuco" with its bearded white men, artillery and large ships, direct trade with China, and abundance of gold and silver. This is a pretty obvious reference to Malacca which is, in fact, reached from the Philippines by following a "chain of islands"—that is, Luzon, Mindoro, Calamian, Palawan, and Borneo. But it is not north of Samar ten days beyond Albay. What is evidently being reported here is that Philippine connections with Malacca are maintained through Moro traders in Luzon, but that people on the southeastern coast of Leyte are too far away to realize the difference. At the other end of this trade route, the Portuguese in Malacca made a similar error in reverse: they thought the Luzones were people who lived in Borneo. So they reported the fiercest warriors in the allied forces Sultan Mahmud threw against Malacca from Bintang in 1525 as being Luzones from Borneo, and so, too, the 1541 Mercator globe of the world shows "Luzon" as a tiny island off the northeast coast of Borneo. Not until 1545, while Villalobos was languishing in the Portuguese Moluccas, did they learn the real position of Luzon, when Peter Fidalgo sailed 1,500 kilometers up the western littoral of the archipelago and noted that the natives were happy to exchange gold for silver at the rate of two to one. This Filipino sensitivity to the value of silver coinage is one more testimony to the archipelago's participation in an international commerce which was already literally globe-circling in the 16th century.

It was precisely the desire to enjoy part of the proceeds of this globe-circling international commerce which motivated the Spaniards to come back to the Philippines twenty years later. By that time, the desire was deep enough to have dimmed the memory of all those Spaniards who had starved to death on Sarangani Island or died, raving mad and in agony, after eating poisonous crabs and lizards. Now even a survivor like Juan Pablo Carrión was hankering for another try. Perhaps it was fond recollections of the hospitality of Filipino chieftains like Iberein of Samar, who carried a thousand pesos of gold on his person and whose oarsmen were collared in gold, which moved Carrión to recommend still another expedition in the following glowing terms:

The fleet can stop in the Philippine Islands, which are islands of friends with whom trade and treaties have already been established, and there are still eight Spaniards there from the fleet in which I sailed. They are islands very well supplied with all manner of foodstuffs, and islands of great commerce, very rich and large. They are in the best location in the whole archipelago; their language and ports are known, and even the names of the chiefs who rule in them, with whom treaties have been made and proven trustworthy. They are a people of great good sense and culture.⁶

⁶ "Relación que el capitán Juan Pablo de Carrion, Almirante de la Armada que va a las Islas del Poniente, hace a la majestad del Rey D. Felipe sobre la navegación que la dicha Armada ha de llevar," *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españoles de Ultramar*, II Serie, Vol. 2 (Madrid 1886), pp. 207-208.

Boat-Building and Seamanship in Classic Philippine Society¹

1. Plank-built boats in the Philippines

In October 1976, Butuan City Engineer Proceso S. Gonzales excavated four planks of an ancient Philippine boat in sitio Ambangan of barrio Libertad, which had been discovered by unauthorized "pot-hunters" looking for marketable Chinese trade porcelain. The find was promptly announced in the public press, using Antonio Pigafetta's early 16th-century Italian spelling, *balanghai*, for *barangay*, presumably because that author mentions one that belonged to the Rajah of Butuan's brother. Dr. Jesus Peralta, Curator of the Anthropology Division of the National Museum, then took charge of salvage archaeology at the site, and Research Assistant Leonard Alegre subsequently removed the planks for chemical treatment and preservation. Just one year later, nine planks from another vessel of the same type were discovered a kilometer to the southeast of the first find, and were systematically salvaged and removed to Manila by National Museum researcher Cecilio Salcedo. There they have been treated by a preservative process known as PEG—i.e., polyethylene glycol—and will eventually be reassembled for public display.

The location of the two finds appears to be a former shoreline—even a harbor waterfront—subject to the strong currents of one of the mouths of the Butuan River which evidently washed

¹ The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Social Science Research Council of New York for a grant in 1977-1978 which supported part of the research on which this paper is based; to Dr. Jesus Peralta, Mr. Cecilio Salcedo, and Mr. Orlando Abiñon of the Anthropology Division of the National Museum for sharing their archaeological findings on two ancient boats excavated in Butuan and making the remains available for study; to Butuan City Engineer Proceso S. Gonzales for photographs of the site; to Mr. Pedro Picornell, Vice-President of PICORP, for his assistance with archaic Spanish nautical terminology; to Dr. Pierre-Yves Manguin of the Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Jakarta, for his constructive criticisms of the finished manuscript; and to Dr. G. A. Horridge of the Australian National University for unstintingly sharing his vast knowledge of Southeast Asian boat-building and literature on the subject, as well as the outright gifts of books, articles, photographs, drawings, and pre-publication copies of his own papers.

away all the disintegrating parts of the vessels except the hull planks, which presumably survived because they collapsed flat onto the clay bottom and so presented no resistance to the current. Other than these planks, nothing was recovered except a short piece of one rib and three small pieces of what was probably a mast. It is therefore impossible to reconstruct whatever interior fittings, thwarts, or superstructure the vessels may have had, or even to determine whether they had outriggers or not. On the other hand, the configuration of the planks themselves is recognizable as a distinctive style of marine architecture which once extended from Scandinavia to the South Pacific, from the third century B.C. until the present time in a few remote corners of the South Sea. These facts, taken together with a Carbon-14 date of the 13th-14th centuries for the second find, determined by the University of Tokyo from wood samples, make the Butuan discoveries one of the most significant events in Philippine archaeology. Moreover, an even earlier date for the first find—it lay more than a meter below a layer of midden materials containing Sung porcelain—makes the discovery an important event in marine archaeology as well. Happily, too, comparison with other Southeast Asian vessels built in this tradition makes it possible to describe the sort of boat these Philippine specimens must have been and, moreover, by recourse to Spanish records, to describe their role and significance for Philippine social life and progress.

The planks of the older vessel run the full length of the hull in one continuous piece—almost 15 meters—and thus constitute what nautical jargon calls strakes. Those of the second boat are made of two sections of *doongon* wood (*Heretiera litorales*) joined by Z-shaped scarfs, and those next to the keel—i.e., the garboard strakes—are 20 cm. wide, 3 cm. thick, and pegged to the keel every 12 cm. by hardwood pins or dowels 19 cm. long, driven into holes in the edge of each board. The pegs fastening the other boards together are shorter—12 cm.—and those which have come loose are 1.5 cm. in diameter and pointed at one end. The keel itself is hardly worthy of that designation—it is simply a plank 1-2 cm. thicker than the other planks, though 45 cm. wide amidships and tapering to a point at both ends, thinning slightly to about 2.25 cm. The most distinctive feature of the planks is a series of flat, rectangular protrusions or lugs carved out of the surface of the wood on the upper side of each plank—that is, the inside of the boat. They are 78 cm. apart, exactly opposite one another on each strake, average 30.7 cm. long, 16.5 cm. wide, and 2.5 cm. thicker than the planks themselves, and have four holes along their edges through which cords or lashings can be passed.

The purpose of both the lugs and the holes is made clear by the fact that a fragment of transverse ribbing was found securely bound to the lugs of the several planks it crossed by cordage of *cabo negro* palm fibers. These lugs are called *tambuko* in Visayan and Maguindanao, as well as in many of the languages spoken in the maritime cultures to the south of the Philippines. Their presence is the earmark of this older ship-building technique.

In the more familiar modern ship-building technique, developed in both China and Europe as long ago as the Middle Ages but still in use, a rigid framework of keel and ribs is first constructed, not unlike the spine and ribs of a whale or carabao in appearance and function, and the wooden planking of the hull is then nailed to it with metal spikes or wooden trenails. The older technique was to build the hull like a shell first, plank by plank carved to fit, and to fasten the ribs in afterwards. This technique is probably a natural development of the one-log dugout canoe by adding one board to each side to obtain higher freeboard. The prototype seems to have survived in Taiwan to be described in the 18th century by Huang Shu-ching in the following terms: "A *mangka* is a single tree-trunk hollowed out, with wooden planks fastened on both sides with rattan; since they have no putty for caulking and water easily enters, the barbarians keep bailing with a ladle."² By increasing the number of such additional planks, a fully developed boat or ship is produced. But as the sides of the canoe, or banca, are thinned, some transverse strengthening is required, and this can be provided by running strut-like thwarts across the vessel, securing them to the sides without nails by means of *tambukos* and lashing. Similarly, as the number of strakes is increased, not only is such transverse reinforcement necessary, but the planks themselves must be firmly attached to one another. For this purpose, a flexible rib can be pressed down across all of them and lashed securely to the matching *tambukos* carved on each plank. Finally, a combination of such thwarts and ribs lashed together, and even tightened by tourniquet action in the lashings themselves, produces a sturdy vessel whose hull and other structural parts are held firm under prestressed tension. This is the sort of hull the Butuan boats must have had.

Of course, since this technique provides no solid ribs to fasten the planks to, they cannot be steamed, bent to shape, and held in place by nails. Instead, they must be carved to shape in advance, no mean feat of carpentry in a boat the size of the Butuan

² Huang Shu-ching, *Fan Shu Liu K'ao* (1736), quoted by Ling Shu-sheng, *Ming-Tsu-Hsueh Yen-Chiu-Suo Ch'i-k'an* (*Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*) (Academia Sinica, Taipei), Vol. 27 (1968), p. 3.

examples. It is because of the essential nature of this feature that boats constructed by this technique are called "plank-built boats." On the testimony of Spanish records, Philippine plank-built boats usually had strakes hewn of one piece from stem to stern, even in 25-meter warships manned by crews of over 200. Each of these planks was literally hand-carved out of half a tree-trunk with an adze. Saws, had they been available, would have been of little use for such shaping, especially considering the projecting *tambukos* along one surface. Although these adzes were made of metal during the Spanish period, it is worth noting that the same results could have been attained with neolithic tools. Indeed, there is an elegant nephrite-jade chisel in the National Museum which could perform such work.

Historically, there are two methods by which the planks in plank-built boats are fastened together—sewing and edge-pegging. Sewing—or, better said, lacing—the boards together is done by drilling a matching row of holes through the two boards near their adjoining edges, and running rattan strips through them in the manner of lacing up a shoe or basketball. This is the older technique and it can be performed with even a simple stone or bone drill, as was still being done in modern times in remote Pacific islands. Sewing boats was a Luzon technique noted in the San Buenaventura Tagalog-Spanish dictionary of 1613, which continued in use into the present century. *Barangayans* or *cascos* with a capacity of two or three thousand cavans of rice for loading and unloading ocean-going steamers were being constructed in Cagayan by this method in the 1920's. The timbers were cut in the Sierra Madres and floated downstream to Aparri where they were reduced to boards, and then carpenters working in teams of two, one inside the hull and one outside, drilled the holes, laced them with *barrid* rattan, and caulked them at the rate of 15 centavos per hole. During the preceding decade, the turtle-eating, seafaring Dumagats of Ambos Camarines were constructing nine-meter *benitans* by sewing overlapping strakes together on a keel 30 cm. thick, plugging up all the openings afterwards with coconut coir and *pili* resin. On the rare occasions when they lived ashore, they simply took their boats apart and stored them under the house, ready to reassemble whenever they had reason to take to the sea again.

Stone tools are probably inadequate for drilling deep holes in the thin edges of boards, and it is therefore not surprising that edge-pegging does not appear in those distant Pacific islands whose inhabitants presumably migrated there without metal. Edge pegs do not provide much strength for binding strakes together—for that, *tambuko* lashing is necessary—though 17th-century

Spanish accounts indicate that Philippine edge pegs were secured within the planks by having hardwood nails run through them, planks and all, after they were in place. But pegs prevent the planks from sliding lengthwise and thus resist the shearing forces exerted on a vessel as it twists in heavy seas, and are therefore sometimes found in ships built on rigid frames in the modern manner. Edge-pegged plank-built boats are still being constructed in the Batanes Islands with solid futtocks and ribs inserted afterwards with nails or trenails instead of *tambukos*, and a Vietnamese specimen with a completely nailless hull of handhewn planks arrived in Lubang Island in July of 1981 with 35 refugees aboard. But *tambukos* survived the introduction of saws and nails right into this century: an old boat-builder in barrio Katuli of Cotabato City recalls *kinalawong* bancas built in this manner with a five-piece hull—that is, a dugout canoe base with two boards pegged to each side, with thwarts called *tang* or *balawog* lashed to them. And the force of tradition is such that *tambukos* still show up anachronistically in handhewn bancas in Butuan where they serve no functional purpose whatever, not even having holes in them.

2. The plank-built man-o-war

By the time of the European arrival in Southeast Asia in the 16th century, the plank-built boat had been developed into a highly refined man-o-war, nicely adjusted to the tools, techniques, and materials available, and local political and commercial needs. They were called *korakora* in Indonesia, but *caracoas* by the Spaniards in the Philippines. They were sleek, double-ended warships of low freeboard and light draft with a keel in one continuous curve, steered by quarter rudders, and carrying one or more tripod masts mounting a square sail of matting on yards both above and below, with double outriggers on which multiple banks of paddlers could provide speed for battle conditions, and a raised platform amidships for a warrior contingent for ship-to-ship contact. Their tripod masts and characteristic S-shaped outrigger supports show up in the 9th-century stone carvings of Borobudur, and their other features appear in Chinese, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, Spanish and English accounts over a period of half a millenium.

Wang Ta-yüan, a medieval Chinese author, recognized the essential features of the plank-built boat—i.e., light, flexible and nailless—in Madura in the early 14th century. Writing at a time when the second Butuan boat might still have been afloat, he

says:

They make boats of wooden boards and fasten them with split rattan, and cotton wadding to plug up the seams. The hull is very flexible, and rides up and down on the waves, and they row them with oars made of wood, too. None of them have ever been known to break up.³

Pigafetta noted the wooden dowels and bamboo outriggers in 1521, and Urdaneta gives the dimensions of the outriggers five years later: they are six meters shorter than the hull, their supports are three and a half meters long, and the innermost row of paddlers sits about a half meter outside the hull. An Italian pilot with Villalobos in 1543 reported a ship with Negro oarsmen in the Visayas, and the anonymous account of the 1565 Legazpi expedition says of a Bornean three-master taken in Bohol, "It was a ship for sailing any place they wanted."⁴ Longer and more detailed accounts were given, in almost identical terms, by Portuguese Governor Antonio Galvano of the Moluccas in 1544, Dutch Admiral Jacob van Neck in 1598, and Mindanao missionary Francisco Combés, S.J., in 1667, while Manila Auditor Antonio de Morga's famous 1609 *Sucesos* includes a shorter but perceptive description. But it was Combés' brother of the cloth, Francisco Alcina, who recorded the most valuable description of all in his unpublished 1668 "Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas"—three chapters in which the construction of the plank-built warship is set down step by step by a man who had actually built some.

To the casual observer familiar with the great Chinese war junks of the Ming Dynasty or the Spanish galleons towering over the native *caracoas*, the plank-built man-o-war looks like a primitive and flimsy craft indeed. Its planking seems skin thin and its bamboo tripods a sorry substitute for those oaken masts which are almost symbols of strength and security in western literature. Their low freeboard and wide-spreading outriggers crowded with seamen outside the hull make them hardly recognizable as ships at all. A careful observer like Pigafetta realized that their hulls were "very well made of boards with wooden pegs [though] above this they are nothing but very large bamboos,"⁵ but

³ Wang Ta-yuan, *Tao I Chih Lueh*, ch. 45.

⁴ Anon. *Relación*, in Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Vol. 13 (Manila 1978), p. 463.

⁵ Antonio Pigafetta, *Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo* (MS 1522), text in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol. 33, p. 224.

Ch'üan-chow Superintendent of Trade Chao Ju-kua thought they were simply bamboo rafts. Their paddles with blades like dinner plates or elephant ears show up in Chang Hsieh's 1613 sailing directions as being "shaped like a gourd cut in half and left hollow as water-bailers."⁶ *Caracoa* seamanship was also inexplicable: the sailors were often in the water outside the boat. To bail out a swamped vessel, for example, they went over the side to rock it and slosh out the water with paddles; and when emergency speed was needed, the paddlers on the outrigger floats were literally in the water. Chang confuses these two actions in the following terms: "On occasion, the men with these bailers jump into the water to rock the boat and the speed is doubled."⁷ And who could imagine that a warship could be launched by the simple maneuver of picking it up and running into the surf with it? This outlandish detail reached the remote mainland study of scholarly Superintendent Chao to be expressed in his 1225 comment on Visayan mariners as follows:

They do not travel in boats or use oars, but only take bamboo rafts for their trips; they can fold them up like door-screens, so when hard-pressed they all pick them up and escape by swimming off with them.⁸

But the comparisons are gratuitous. The *caracoa* was not designed to cross high seas in any weather before any winds, out of sight of land and provisions for months at a time, carrying heavy cargos financed by international banking houses, and even heavier artillery for slugging it out with competitors of their kind. Rather, they were intended to carry warriors at high speeds before seasonal winds through dangerous reef-filled waters with treacherous currents on interisland raids and high-profit ventures mounted by harbor princelings with limited capital. For this purpose they were superbly fitted. If a fair comparison is desired, it may be found in the Viking ships of Scandinavia. A third-century example excavated in Nydam, Schleswig-Holstein, has a double-ended hull like the Butuan finds, with one-piece strakes lashed to flexible ribs by cleat-lugs. But by the time of the later Butuan boat, the Viking ship had developed along its own line of specialization into a heavy, rigid-ribbed, deep-sea vessel capable of withstanding the buffeting of some of the roughest waters in the world—those of the North Atlantic be-

⁶ Chang Hsieh, *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao*, ch. 5.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Chao Ju-kua, *Chu Fan Chih*, Part I: *P'i-she-ya*.

tween Europe and America. In Southeast Asia, on the other hand, specialization ran to speed and maneuverability in shallow coastal waters.

The flexible hull, curved keel, shallow draft, quarter rudders, and protective outriggers give the *caracoa* life-saving advantages in waters entailing a high risk of banging on coral reefs, grounding on rocky coasts, or beaching on sandy shores. The force of direct underwater blows that would stave in the hull of a rigid vessel, or at least loosen its nails, is instantly redistributed to other parts of the prestressed plank-built hull, and rattan lashing that comes loose can easily be tightened again or replaced. Nails entail a special disadvantage of their own: they loosen as they rust and induce rot into the surrounding wood in the process. Quarter rudders are actually large steering oars on one or both quarters that can be raised at a moment's notice to avoid underwater obstructions, and outriggers effectively act as fenders against contacts at water level. Nor is the presence of the tripod mast on the plank-built hull mere coincidence. The pliant *caracoa* hull precludes the stepping of a tall mast into a rigid keel on which it would exert the strain of great leverage: instead, the more agile tripod can safely shift its burden with the movements within the hull itself.

Outriggers serve a half dozen distinct functions in sailing *caracoas*. Their most obvious purpose is to prevent rolling. They run just above the surface on a well-trimmed ship—"kissing the water," as Morga says—and are slanted upwards at the ends to lessen water resistance. (The 17th-century Mindanao equivalent of keel-hauling was to tie the culprit to one of the outrigger floats.) They add the necessary buoyancy to keep a swamped vessel afloat, and missionary accounts contain grateful tales of friars being brought safely to port by Filipino crews working in water up to their necks. Outriggers receive the first force of heavy seas on the beam and, if worse comes to worst, come apart first and so give a vessel time to seek shelter before breaking up. Thus an anti-Moro task force dropped anchor off Panay in 1618 when its port outriggers began to be strained by strong northeasterly *brisas*. Outrigger beams also provide support for as many as four banks of paddlers for high speed in battle, and the whole outrigger structure provides the handles by which the crew picks up a *caracoa* for beaching and launching. (A hundred men can easily carry a five-ton vessel if they can get ahold of it.) Speed in launching was an essential feature of self-defense for coastal villages exposed to raiding attacks, for boats were regularly beached high and dry at night. Encumbering and destructive marine weeds accumulate on an exposed hull in tropical

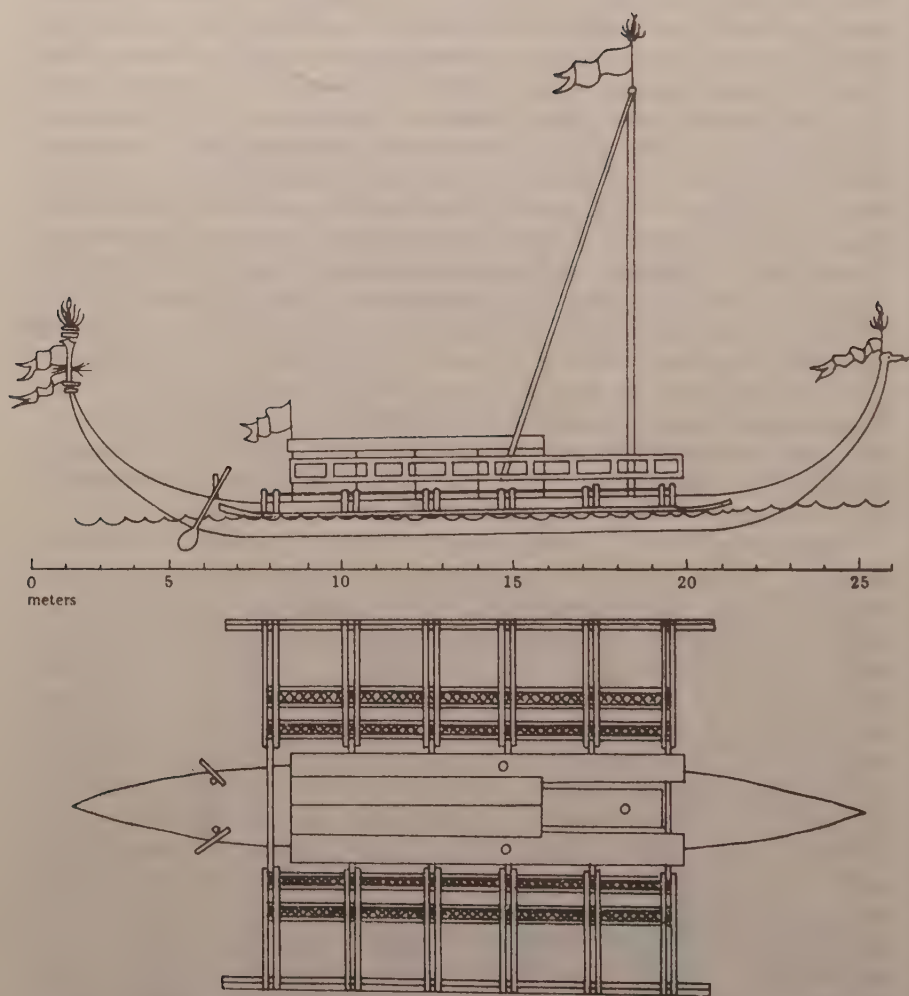


Fig. 1. Sixteenth-century Philippine *caracoa* for sixty paddlers.

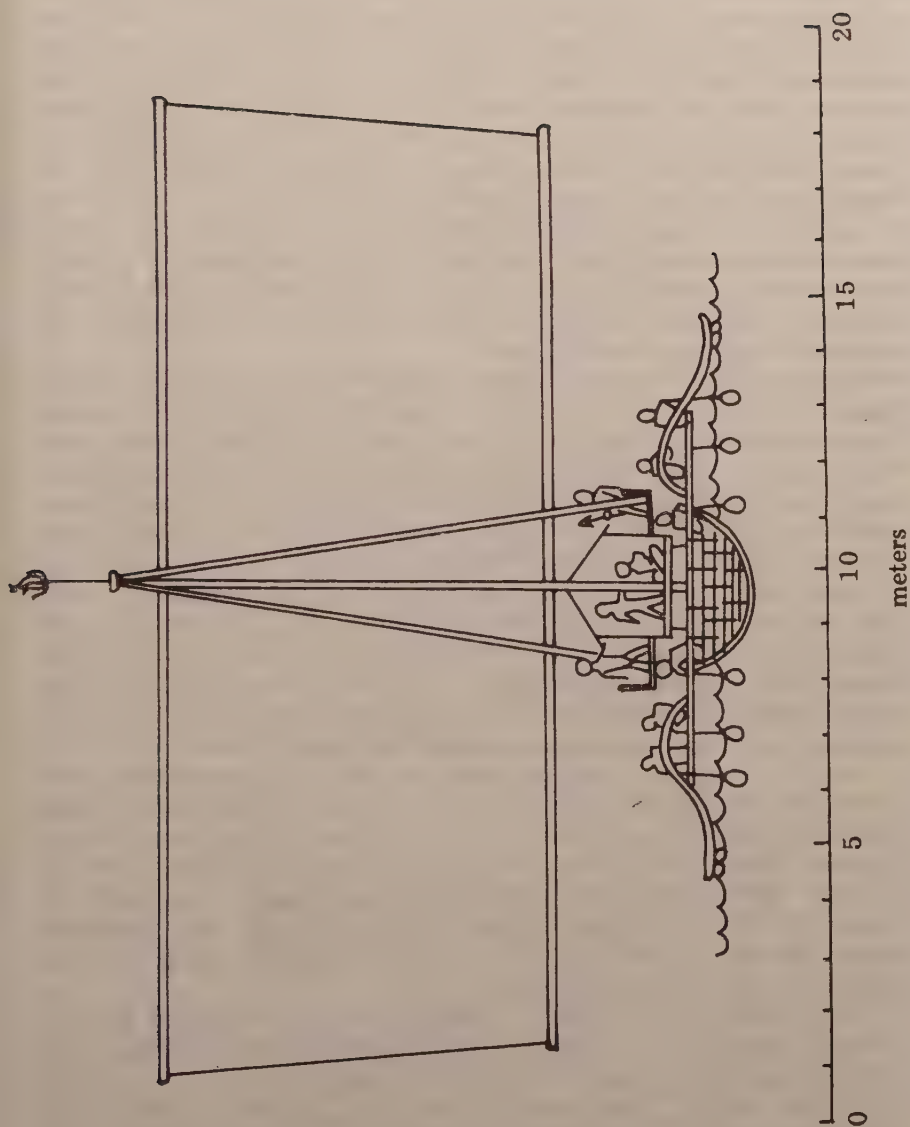


Fig. 2. Sixteenth-century Philippine *caracoa*, showing disposition of paddlers.

waters in one or two weeks' time, and shipworms—according to Hernando de los Ríos Coronel in 1619—could eat up the hull of a galley anchored in the Pasig River in just twelve months.

The fact that the *caracoa* was double-ended made it extremely maneuverable in battle: its paddlers could back it down as rapidly as drive it forward simply by turning around in their places and shifting the helm to the other end. Paddles have the advantage of giving direct control of the depth, length, and frequency of stroke—as Father Combés said, “Their paddling is precise because they strike directly with the paddles right in their hands without being fastened to anything.”⁹ It is the use of paddles, of course, which requires such low freeboard. Oars permit greater length and leverage, and can generally be worked longer than paddles without tiring, though Father Alcina testifies that Visayans born and raised to the task can be relied on to paddle from sunrise to sunset.

The *caracoa's* shallow draft makes it less responsive than deeper vessels to the vicious currents of the narrow channels and interisland passages of the Philippine archipelago which were the constant bane, and frequent undoing, of Spanish galleons. But it is a distinct disadvantage for sailing in any wind other than one dead astern—for which reason Southeast Asian trade-raiding was strictly seasonal. With no keel, center- or lee-boards, or large, deep center rudder, and very little hull beneath the water, the *caracoa* was easily blown sideways on a smooth sea and impeded by a choppy one. When running before the wind, its speed was proverbial—probably 12-15 knots to a galleon's five or six—and a factor in the Sulu Sultanate's survival as an independent maritime principality until the advent of steam. But with a wind on the beam, the *caracoa* was already close-hauled, and it performed poorly in rough water in even a quartering wind, and could hardly tack under any conditions. Thus when Commander Morga sailed out of Mariveles Bay in October 1600 in a fresh northwester with choppy seas and headed due south to intercept Dutch Admiral Oliver van Noordt off the Batangas coast, he had to leave his two *caracoas* behind to cross over to Cavite inside Corregidor Island.

This same shallow draft, however, was an essential feature of the fine lines of a hull of such hydrodynamic excellence the *caracoa* actually planed with a following wind—that is, lifted up in the water. The common Philippine *barangay* shared this design, and its performance was praised in such a pleasant and

⁹ Francisco Combés, *Historia de Mindanao y Joló* (Madrid 1667), 2nd ed. Pablo Pastells and W. E. Retana (Madrid 1897), pp. 70-71.

informative paean by Father Alcina that it is worth quoting at length:

Let us say something about the speed of these ancient boats of the Visayans, which was certainly great in a *barangay* of one encomendero of these islands called Pedro Méndez, which—though I did not see it, I heard about it from many who embarked on it many times—was so fast that nobody in it could keep his footing when they were rowing; even though it had no more than two banks of paddlers, one on each side, it was of low freeboard and long, so they struck the water well with their paddles. It used to travel by paddling between sunrise and sunset from the town of Paranas—where many of these *barangays* are made, and the same Filipino expert who made them made me a little one—to the City of Cebu, where the said Pedro Méndez had his house, this being a distance of more than forty leagues between leaving the one town as the sun was rising and reaching the other before it set, which seems unbelievable since they were traveling at more than four leagues an hour, but the number of witnesses leaves no room for doubt. And I experienced practically the same thing in this little *barangay* which was made in the same town, for I never met another boat and made *romba*—which is what the Filipinos call *reca-teado* in Spain, which, for those who do not know it, is to race—that could keep up with me, and oftentimes when I was sailing near the edge of the sea or some river, I noticed that no man could keep up with me no matter how long he ran along the beach following me.¹⁰

European explorers had the good sense to use native vessels from the very beginning of their invasion of Southeast Asia. The ship Magellan's friend Francisco Serrano ran aground in 1511 had been purchased in Banda, and when Governor Gonzalo Pereira sent some Portuguese officers to threaten Legazpi in Cebu in 1567, they made the trip from Ternate in two *caracoas*. So, too, when Spanish Governor Acuña attacked the Dutch in that island forty years later, they escaped with their families in four *joangas*, a sort of king-sized *caracoas*. Legazpi himself used Filipino-built and Filipino-manned vessels for exploring the Visayas, and sent Martín de Goiti to Luzon with fifteen of them in 1570. Smaller craft called *biroco* formed part of the Spanish fleet sent to Borneo in 1579, and more of them were

¹⁰ Francisco Alcina, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas*, MS 1668, cap. 10.

stationed below Manila during a Japanese threat in 1942. Morga regularly used *caracoas* as dispatch boats and tenders, and by 1609 they were in such common use the Spanish King was moved to order some improvement in their design to protect their over-worked *indio* crews from inclement weather. In the 17th century, whole fleets of them were being built to fight fire with fire as Moro Filipinos contested Spanish control of the Visayas. All the naval action during Sultan Kudarat's long lifetime was made by fleets of plank-built men-o-war with a thousand-year pedigree. And the six boats Captain Francisco de Atienza carried up to Marawi in pieces in 1639 and reassembled on Lake Lanao were genuine Philippine pre-fabs, too.

Hernando de los Ríos Coronel once remarked that a *caracoa* was a boat that could be sunk with one oar of a galley. As a matter of strict fact, Spanish galleys didn't often get the chance. As Father Combés accurately said, "The care and technique with which they build them makes their ships sail like birds, while ours are like lead in comparison."¹¹

3. Construction of the plank-built boat

Chapters 8-10 of Book 3 of Part 1 of Francisco Alcina's unpublished "Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas" are a detailed description of Visayan ship-building techniques in the first half of the seventeenth century. Father Alcina was eminently qualified to write such a description. He was a master shipwright of the first class himself when he arrived in the Philippines in 1632, and by the time he wrote his four-volume *Historia* in 1668, he had built several Philippine vessels himself and traveled thousands of kilometers along the coasts of Leyte and Samar and other Visayan Islands. He was a keen observer of everything he saw from flora and fauna to natural phenomena and human behavior. He spoke the people's language, learned their sea chanteys and folklore, and more than once saved galleons from grounding in San Bernardino Strait by the expertise he had acquired. And he admired Filipino ship-building skills warmly and entrusted his life to their seamanship gladly. His description of their methods of constructing plank-built boats is as follows.

The master shipwright is called a *panday*, a title he shares with other craftsmen like iron-workers and goldsmiths. He goes to the forest with his ax, a straight adze called a *dallag*, a curved one called a *bintong*, and a spoon-bit called a *lakob* about 20 cm.

¹¹ Combés, op. cit., loc. cit.

long with a wooden handle across it, and selects his tree. *Lawaan* is preferred because it is a strong hardwood which grows large enough for a canoe 120 cm. wide to be hewn out of a single trunk. In the Philippines, tropical trees generally have a punky center—the Visayans called it *bokag*—caused by a fungus infection which enters through the root system and eventually rots and splits the trunk. The center must therefore be rejected, though the two halves will be solid timber if the tree is carefully selected. The outer four or five centimeters are also rejected as being *aramay*—soft, spongy, or fibrous—and liable to grubs and woodlice. (Father Alcina accepts the Filipino belief that if a tree is cut during the dark of the moon—say, after the 22nd of the month—the *aramay* will crumble to dust in three days, but that if the tree is cut in the moonlight, even the worst-infested *aramay* will not infect the rest of the trunk.) Since the tree is too large to be moved conveniently on the ground, it is felled in just the position the *panday* wants. Then he marks out straight guidelines along it with a cord called a *kutur*, and sets to work.

The entire outer form of the hull is adzed to shape before hollowing out the inside—sharp at the bottom like a keel, pointed at both ends, and V-shaped amidships with sides no thicker than a board. (The adze is evidently sometimes used like a chisel, for Father Alcina says it is hammered with a mallet called a *pakang*.) To check the progress of the thinning process as he works, the *panday* keeps boring holes through the sides with the *lakob*, all of which will be plugged up watertight later. Then the interior is hollowed out, leaving the necessary *tambukos* projecting for seating thwarts or ribs called *agars* with rattan. A good *panday* can make such a hull nine or ten meters long and a meter and a half wide working by himself in just eight or ten days.

Such a boat carved out of a single piece of wood is called a *baroto*—what the Tagalogs call a *banca*, Father Alcina says—or a *balasiyan*. (Some are small enough for one man to lift.) Usually a *baroto* or *banca* has one board added to each side—indeed, this may be the basic meaning of *bangka*, for Taiwanese boats of this build observed by Fukienese coast guard officer Chu Wen-ping in 1662 were called *mangkas* or *vangkas*. Since the boards themselves are called *timbaw*, the *baroto* is now technically *tinimbaw*. To increase freeboard, from 20 to 40 cm. of *opak* or *dagpak* bark may be added to the gunwales and secured with thin strips and nails of rattan, or plaited palm leaves may be added as washboards called *dalopi*. But if the sides themselves are raised high enough for cargo-carrying purposes to require oars instead of paddles, the boat is called a *birok* or *biroco*. In Father Alcina's day, these *birocos* were being re-

placed by *champans* of Chinese design, except for short trips in local waters. It is impractical, however, to build larger vessels on dugout canoe bases, so those above ten meters or so are constructed on squared keels as real edge-pegged, plank-built boats. This is the size and style which was known by the famous name of *barangay* or *balangay*, although the Tagalog version was sewed or laced, not edge-pegged. Largest of all are the full-fledged warships called *caracoas*, among which the *joanga* appears as an oversized model for special duty, the term itself probably deriving from the huge, triple-planked Malay *jong*. A *joanga* that retired up the Pasig River with a crew of more than 300 in the face of Goiti's attack in 1570 was probably a royal flagship providing maximum security for the person of Rajah Solayman or Rajah Acheh Matanda.

It is to be noted that the flat- or round-bottomed Butuan boats, lacking either a real keel or a canoe base, do not fit any of these categories, though they are within the *barangay* size range. In addition, they display another unique feature—the center plank which serves as a keel has two or three thin *tambukos* parallel to one another instead of the broad ones appearing on the adjoining planks, though of the same length and thickness. In the absence of other known examples, it is not possible to assign a function to this special feature. It is tempting to speculate, however, that some sort of plank-shaped timbers standing on edge may have been lashed to them to serve as a kind of interior keel—though these, of course, would have to be cut out to fit the transverse ribs.

Construction of the *caracoa* begins with a keel of hard, red *barayong* or *tugas* wood. Since this may be more than 25 meters long and has a gentle curve in profile—both Combés and English privateer William Dampier call Philippine warships “half-moon shaped”—its production from forest to finished product demands considerable skill and manpower. It is small wonder that Filipino shipwrights could handily lay out and construct a thirty-meter mast ten meters in circumference for a Manila galleon with no more Spanish assistance than a few soldiers to keep them working without pay. The keel is extended at both ends about a meter by stems of the same wood mortised into it, which continue its graceful lines into serpent-like projections at both prow and stern which are gaily decorated for full-dress occasions. Because of this curve, as much as a fifth of the total length of the vessel may be out of the water.

Next comes the carving of the first two boards to be fitted to the keel on either side, the most crucial stage in the entire

construction because it is their flare and curvature which will determine the final contour of the hull and the consequent speed of the vessel. For this reason, they are distinguished by special terms: the garboard strake is called *dokot* and the next one *lonor*. The curvature itself is called *lubag* and the skill to produce it is the hallmark of the master *panday*. Additional planks are then added with *mangle*, *bahe* (the trunk of the *anahawis* palm) or brazilwood dowels every 20 cm. to a total of six or more boards on a side, depending on the size of the boat. (Three to five appear to be normal for a *barangay*.) The *tambukos* have already been carved out, of course—20 cm. long and 6-7 cm. thick on top but flush with the surface of the plank below, and a meter to a meter and a half apart. (They are therefore thicker, shorter, and farther apart than the Butuan specimens.)

Now the shell is left to season for a month or two, carefully elevated to avoid infestation by termites. When it is sufficiently dried out, the planks are removed one by one and all the broken pegs—"which are many"—removed and replaced. Then it is re-assembled in three distinct stages called *sugi* ("matching"), *os-os* ("tightening"), and *pamota* ("closing"). *Sugi* is accomplished with a little wooden tool that acts like a scribe: it has a sharp iron point 2-3 mm. above a projecting tongue or lip, and is small enough to fit in the palm of the hand. After the planks have been put together again but not hammered tight, a carpenter with a strong grip places the little lip on the upper edge of a board with the point biting into the side of the board above. Then he runs it from stem to stern both inside and out, applying enough pressure to incise a sharp line along the upper board near its lower edge. This mark naturally reproduces whatever irregularities the original adzing may have left in the upper edge of the lower board. The wood below this line can now be removed to leave a chink between the two planks of constant thickness from one end to the other. This chink is then stuffed with *pugahan*-or *idiok*-palm fibers called *barok*, as fine as goat's hair, and the planks are ready for *os-os* tightening.

Os-os means to prevent something from sliding up or down by pulling against it with cords: the belt a weaver uses with the back-strap loom to keep tension on the warp threads is called an *os-osan*. In boat-building, the term means to run stout rattan lines under the hull, fastening them securely at both ends to logs laid across the gunwales. Wedges are then driven into the ends of each log, splitting them enough to increase their dimension and so draw the rattan lines tight. While the planks are under this tension, their "eyelids are closed" (*napiirnga*) by *pamota*. This is done by driving holes through the pegs in each plank, locating

them by marks inscribed on the planks beforehand, by the use of a little tool like a nail punch with square cross section. The nails themselves are square pins 4 cm. long of *ipil*, a strong wood which produces a resin in salt water which remains so sticky the pegs may break off but the pins themselves never loosen. Then the *os-os* equipment is removed and the planks are left so tight you can hardly see the joints between them, Father Alcina says, and the whole hull is as strong as if carved from a single block of wood.

Now, the shell having been finished, the hull itself is completed by the insertion of ribs and thwarts. The thwarts are smoothed branches of wood chosen for its strength, toughness, and light weight, with one or two holes at each end. By means of these holes they are lashed across the boat between matching pairs of *tambukos* in corresponding strakes, seated on the *tambukos* themselves. Father Alcina says they look like the rungs of a ladder running from stem to stern—as the *tambukos* themselves look like a little flight of steps up the inside of the hull from keel to gunwale. On the uppermost of these thwarts the paddlers sit, and to all of them the longitudinal and upright elements of the superstructure are lashed. The ribs also have holes in both ends, by which they are lashed to the uppermost *tambukos* opposite one another after they have been forced down in an arc and lashed to each plank they cross by braided rattan bindings—or palm fibers, in the case of the Butuan boat—which pass through the *tambuko* holes and over the ribs. The *caracoa* hull generally has a very narrow beam-to-length ratio of one to eight, or even one to ten, and this interior bracing enables it to resist shearing and twisting forces which a more rigid vessel of these proportions could hardly endure. But since these thwarts are only a meter or so apart down the whole length of the boat, and occur between each set of strakes from keel to gunwale, the hold has little space for cargo. This configuration calls attention to the fact that the *caracoa* is a man-o-war, not a merchantman.

The *caracoa* hull is shallow enough in contour to draw very little water and to assure low enough freeboard for four-foot paddles to reach the waves. This shallow draft not only gives the *caracoa* a vital advantage over the Spanish galley, but in the 17th century guaranteed the Maguindanaoans almost complete freedom of action in the labyrinthine estuaries of the Pulangi River delta during their defense of that territory against foreign invasion. All European observers comment that Filipino mariners are willing to sail with only one plank above the water, or even "three fingers" in the case of small boats, or with bark or palm-leaf washboards half submerged. Yet the *caracoa* carries

a considerable load of superstructure. The one taken in Bohol in 1565 "had three decks, although there was little space between one deck and another,"¹² and some observed in the Visayas in 1543 were "well wrought and nicely adorned, and the lords were seated above and down below some negroes with kinky hair, according to their stations."¹³

The superstructure begins with the outrigger supports. Four or more crossbeams called *batangan*, square or round in cross section and extending at least a meter beyond each gunwale, are lashed to thwarts. Fastened to both ends of each of these with large square pegs and rattan bindings are one or two outrigger supports of *mangle* wood called *tadik*—parallel to each other with the *batangan* in between, if there are two. These *tadiks* are shaped like a letter-S lying on its side, with the middle of the S crossing the end of the *batangan*, the inner arm rising above it and fastened to it nearer the hull, the outer arm curving downward to hold the outrigger floats at water level. The floats themselves—*kates*—are two, three, or four thick bamboos extending to within two or three meters of both prow and stern at least two meters away from the hull, slightly raised forward to reduce water resistance. The *batangas* carry one or two *darambas*, bamboo or split-bamboo seats running fore-and-aft for additional banks of paddlers—or actual oarsmen if an inner *daramba* is too high for the use of paddles. Inboard, the *batangans* carry three cane-decked platforms or catwalks running the length of the vessel called *burulan*. The middle one serves as an actual deck for the sailors handling the rigging and the persons and cargo of important passengers like the master himself, or a rajah with his entourage of ladies—seated on a still higher platform—and is just enough narrower than the full beam of the vessel to leave room for the paddlers. The other two *burulans* are narrower (though still wide enough to sleep on), far enough outboard to overhang the hull, and high enough to clear the heads of the paddlers when they stand up to enter, leave, or handle cargo. Because of this configuration, the two outboard *burulans* are called *pagguray*—"eyebrows". All three *burulans* serve as fighting platforms for the ship's marines, but especially the two *paggurays*, and all have planks standing on edge like strakes along the side, or decoratively carved railings. Such railings, covered with canvas guards, saved Spanish soldiers from poisoned arrows in 1570 when Juan de Salcedo was attacking a Batangas

¹² Anon. *Relación*, op. cit., loc. cit.

¹³ Antonio Galvano, *Tratado dos Descobrimientos antigos e modernos* (1563). 3rd ed. (Oporto 1731), p. 278.

kota in Balayan from the deck of a Panay *caracoa*.

A tripod mast is technically not a mast at all but what nautical terminology—and Dr. Morga—call shears—two poles fastened together like an inverted letter-V for use as a derrick. In *caracoas* they are made either of wood or bamboo, and their legs stand on the *darambas* pivoted on a pin which permits them to be lowered to decrease wind resistance in adverse weather. The third leg stands on the centerline, forward. (What is probably the foot of such a mast recovered at Butuan is 15 cm. in diameter and has a 2.5 hole running through it.) The *caracoa* carries two, or sometimes, three, such tripods, each mounting one huge rectangular sail wider than high, kept taut between two bamboo yardarms, a shape Father Alcina considers an advantage in sailing close to the wind. Running rigging is simple—a block and tackle (*bognoson*) for raising and lowering the sail, and braces of rattan rope at the ends of the yards. The sail itself is made of matting woven of *gaong*, *buri*, or *nipa* fibers, or the burlap-like growth called *gonot* which forms between the fronds of certain palms. Filipinos seem not to have used cloth for their sails, although the Manila galleons were regularly propelled across the Pacific on Ilocano canvas woven on back-strap looms. Such matting is also used for an awning called a *kayang* which covers the whole working space of the vessel and elicits admiring praise from European observers: sun and rain, Father Alcina aphorizes, “are the two great enemies of sailors.”¹⁴

Paddles are called *bugsey* and are about a meter or 120 cm. long, with a leaf-shaped blade 20 x 40 cm.—sometimes used as a chopping board for preparing meals—and a cross-bar handle at the top. Sailors take pride in the manufacture of their own paddles, and carve out pony-sized ones for their sons as soon as they are old enough to hold one. Good paddling requires athletic coordination and long practice, and the outcome of naval engagements can be decided by the discipline of precise timing to the rhythm of sea chanteys or the beat of a brass gong. Longer paddles called *gaors* for use in *birocos* or from the “upper deck” of *caracoas* are actually oars, with thole-pins in the gunwales slanted toward the stern, a feature Father Alcina considers an improvement over the European model which permits a careless oar to slip off. The blade of a *gaor* is shaped like a large dinner plate and fashioned from a separate piece of wood. In addition, the foreign-style oar with long slender blade was coming into use in the 17th century and was called a *gayong*. So, too, the center rudder beneath a raised stern was replacing the one or two quar-

¹⁴ Alcina, *op. cit.*, *cap.* 9.

ter-rudder steering oars—or four in *joangas*—as early as Morga's time, and the western-type ram was being constructed on Philippine bows before 1600.

The *caracoa* carries four to six banks of paddlers of twelve to twenty men each, and can add two more by manning the bamboo outrigger floats for emergency maneuvers like outdistancing pursuers. Galvano reports royal *joangas* in the Moluccas with 200 oarsmen to a side in addition to 100 men-at-arms, and four *joangas* which attacked Fort Gazang, Marinduque, as late as 1754 were reported—somewhat hysterically, perhaps—to be carrying 500 Moros each. But such large crews must have reached or exceeded the optimum point between manpower and dead weight, for the ordinary Philippine man-o-war rarely carried more than a hundred. A Bohol chieftain was buried in the early 1560's with 70 slaves as crewmen for his voyage into the afterlife, Procurator Rios Coronel thought 80-100 was normal in 1619, and Italian Jesuit Marcelo Mastrilli traveled in a *caracoa* with 90 oars in 1637. The Spaniards used still smaller ones in their Moro Wars: a fleet of 30-40 outfitted in Cebu and Oton in 1627 carried only 1,600 Filipinos and 200 Spaniards. The fighting elite who manned the *burulan* decks in these warships counted less than a quarter of the ship's total complement. But the whole crew, oarsmen and all, were fighters in shore raids and were promoted from outboard to inboard in recognition of their valor in action. And they enjoyed the prestige of knights or samurai in pre-hispanic Philippine society. They were called *timawa*—a term which quickly degenerated under Spanish domination into “commoner.”

4. 17th-century Filipino seamanship

It need hardly be said that the two or three thousand Spaniards who occupied the Philippines at any one time could not have done so without the Filipino manpower and skill to build their galleons, teach their pilots how to get them in and out of Philippine waters, and then sail them across the frigid upper latitudes of the Pacific. Early 17th-century attempts to construct ordinary Spanish vessels produced some noteworthy disasters. Seven galleons built in 1610 to keep colonial competitors away from Philippine shores, so huge that the mast for one of them cost the labor of 6,000 Filipinos for four months, were lost at sea without ever seeing action. Mediterranean-style galleys could not keep up with Filipino men-o-war or follow them into shoal waters, and their

oars were too heavy for underfed Filipino slaves or convicts to handle: two of them dropped dead in 1606 after six hours of rowing. Once the Dutch threat was removed, however, the Spanish settled down to building heavy galleons to transship Chinese goods over the Manila-Acapulco run, and light *caracoas* to fight independent Filipinos in the southern part of the archipelago.

All these ships were built by raw Filipino manpower, but also by a certain amount of skilled labor on the part of Filipino coopers, caulkers, smiths, and master carpenters. The Manila government was rarely, if ever, solvent enough to meet royally approved pay scales, but at least the scales themselves reflect official assessment of such skills. In 1619, for example, a day when the minimum wage for forced labor was set at three centavos a day plus rations—and a first-class slave cost ₱80—a Filipino shipwright who could lay out a mast or yardarm was supposed to receive three to four pesos a month and a double ration of rice. And in 1636 when the price of rice was fluctuating between fifty centavos and one peso per cavan and a Filipino seaman's wages were four pesos a month and 15 gantas of rice, a Filipino master blacksmith in the Cavite shipyards was listed at eight and a half pesos and 50 gantas of rice. Only Visayan *pandays* were taken on at this rate with no previous experience in government yards, however, and Father Alcina has preserved the names of two of them—Figuman and Francisco Polacay of Palapag. Another testimony to the value of the Filipino carpenter was the number carried in Spanish fleets: of the 700 Filipinos lost in the Singapore expedition of 1616, 200 were carpenters. Nor was their presence in shipyards ignored by Moros destroying Spanish galleons on the ways—400 were carried off in one raid alone in 1617.

Filipino mariners did not practice celestial navigation, though Visayans distinguished the major constellations to set their agricultural calendars. Their observations of the heavens were for meteorological purposes: by the appearance of the atmosphere, the hue, thickness, and configuration of clouds, the direction, force and steadiness of winds, and the color of the sun and moon—Father Alcina says—they could predict typhoons three or four days in advance, and, less accurately, the amount of moisture to be expected a whole season in advance. They knew the Chinese mariner's compass—they called it *padaloman*, literally, "place for the needle"—but used it mainly at nighttime. For the most part, they navigated by piloting—that is, by proceeding from one landfall to another, following island chains wherever they wished to go. Even when islands cannot actually be seen, their presence is betrayed by ocean currents, floating objects, the movement

of birds or fish, and especially cloud formations on the horizon and the kind of lightning they display. Magellan's survivors took the *Victoria* from Cebu to what is now Indonesia by sailing from one island to another, and in Timor they found a Luzon ship which had no doubt got there by the same method. Similarly, Luzon traders carried their gold, wax, and honey to Malacca by passing down the north coast of Borneo—where, as a matter of fact, they were most probably business partners of the Sultan of Brunei to begin with. Even the mainland coast of China can be reached by following the Babuyan and Batanes Islands to Taiwan in sight of mountain peaks almost the whole way, and when Visayan *caracoas* raided the Fukien coast at the end of the 12th century, that is just where the Chinese thought they came from.

But the nautical skill which made the Filipino seaman absolutely indispensable to galleon shipping was his knowledge of the powerful and capricious currents of Philippine seas. A current flows down the east coast of Mindanao, for example, at about the speed of a Spanish galleon, and in the 16th century effectively doomed all survivors of the Loaysa, Saavedra and Villalobos expeditions to Portuguese or Filipino captivity because they could get no wind to oppose it. Ships could be spun around 180° in the terrifying whirlpools off the northwest corner of Samar, and unwary boats were literally held captive for days at a time before being broken up on coral reefs. Worst of all was the San Bernardino Strait between Luzon and Samar—rushing torrents of water through which the colony's mercantile lifeline passed as if between the blades of coral knives. No Spanish captain could hope to get a returning galleon through that channel after the *vendavales* started blowing from the southwest without a dozen Filipino boats as tugs and a good Samareño pilot at his elbow. Such pilots were sometimes rewarded with princely sums like one or two hundred pesos, contributed on the spot by grateful passengers—fifty pesos from a general, slightly less from an admiral or commander, and six or eight each from investors with cargo aboard. But, alas, colonial abuse eventually made it difficult to obtain such expert services. An arrogant *Piloto Mayor* who ran the *San Francisco Jávier* aground at Borongan in 1655, for example, rewarded a Filipino pilot who saved the galleon *Concepción* for him 13 years later with nothing more than a blow with a cane. It is perhaps not surprising that opinion in the Philippines attributed the loss of the *San Francisco Jávier* to God's judgment on the cruelties connected with building it—and pleasant to record that the only silver recovered from it went directly into the pockets of Filipino salvagers.

Filipino seamanship was appreciated by the colonial regime from the days when Merga used to send his *caracoas* out with only one Spaniard aboard. Laws of navigation and commerce promulgated in 1620 took it for granted that any Filipino born along the seacoast was qualified to ship out as a common seaman on government vessels, and the sailors of Malate were renowned for carrying Manila merchants to Cavite in any weather without ever having lost a passenger or his goods. Galleons sailed in those days with an equal number of Filipino and European deckhands—about 70 each, counting the Spanish gunners—but by the 1720's Filipinos outnumbered the others two to one. By the middle of the 18th century they had won such a reputation abroad that there was hardly a Spanish ship in European waters which did not have some on board. A memorial written in 1765 by Francisco Leandro de Viana says there is no people in the whole world more dexterous on shipboard, or quicker to learn nautical terms or skills, a judgment echoed by another Spanish author sixty years later: a Filipino will learn as much seamanship with a few days' practice as a European does in twenty years. Viana also says of the Acapulco run, "There is hardly an *indio* who does not understand the mariner's compass, and therefore on this trade-route there are some very skillful and dexterous helmsmen."¹⁵ By the 19th century, Filipinos were migrating in such numbers to sell their skills outside the Philippines that other colonial regimes placed restrictions on employing them. In 1827, for example, the British in India limited them to four or five per vessel, and strung up offenders from waterfront gibbets as a warning to their fellows.

Filipino seamanship and the importance of seafaring in 17th-century Visayan life is nicely illustrated by a contemporary dictionary like Mentrída's 1637 *Bocabulario*. It is significant at the outset that boats seem to dominate the author's consciousness even when he is not defining nautical terms. *Hugut*, for example, he defines as "something taut, like the rigging of a ship," and *kilikol* as "to fasten one thing to another, like a boat towed astern," and he gives *andoloy* as "fast, like a ship" despite the fact that there is a special adjective for the swiftness of ships—*makilas*. Not surprisingly, some nautical terms are extended to more general meanings, while others provide the bases for colorful metaphorical images. *Sangkap*, for instance, is to equip a ship with its full crew, while *kasangkapan* is, by extension, "Everything needed for something"; and *dapak*, the sheathing

¹⁵ Francisco Leandro de Viana, *Memoria* (Madrid 1765), translated in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., Vol. 48, p. 301.

of a ship's hull, also means "To steal in the presence of the owner"—perhaps like English, "to fleece." Conversely, a common word may also be given a special nautical meaning: *ulat*, "scar," can mean either to raise a scar or to raise a sail. However, as Visayan life styles changed over the centuries, so did the Visayan vocabulary. The modern word *lawig* includes tethering and pasturing cattle, and sailing and travel in general, but used to be defined:

Lawig: for a *caracoa* to drop anchor, even if not in port, and it refers to the ship, or the people on it; *lawigon*: the anchor cable; *lalawigan*: to let out the cable a bit; *lawigan* is the anchorage, which is usually a port but not necessarily.

Sakayan is the basic term for boat or ship, and its root is *sakay*, to travel by water, whether by paddling, rowing, or sailing. The absence of any such word in English may serve as a reminder that the Filipino people were a maritime people connected, not separated, by interisland channels and seas. Filipinos and their culture passed throughout the archipelago by *sakay*, and the connecting links are called *bungalos*, channels between islands. Indications in the water of safe channels are *sibir*, and the dark waters which indicate the presence of shoals are *halum*. Ordinarily, the Filipino sailor stays within sight of land if possible, though there is a special term for a small boat putting out to sea—*lu-aw*. *Hamgir* is to follow the coast, and *oway* is to track a vessel—that is, pull it along the shore or river bank by a rope. To steer directly toward some point like a tree or peak, or a star, is *tuhur*, and to proceed from one point to another without tacking or changing course is *tagal*.

Paddling—or rowing—is the basic method of *sakay* and has a well-developed vocabulary. To row backwards without turning around in your seat is *sibug*, and to row at forced speed is *sagaysay*. The sound of such fast rowing or paddling is *hagulut*, but striking the side of the boat is *hakdol* or *dakoldakol*, and to splash water in the process is *bungkalis*. *Lamba* or *lumba* is an actual race between boasts. Paddle-power is also used to assist a vessel under sail. This is called *dalabay* in general, but if it is done primarily to keep wind in the sails when close-hauled, then it is called *sogot*. To sail at top speed lightly loaded—for scouting, for example, or to deliver messages—is *langpas*, and a special boat for this purpose is *lampitaw*, such as a Spanish attack force sends out in advance. Only two winds are distinguished in relation to a vessel underway—*tampiyok*, a head wind, and *tolot* or *solosor*, a following wind ("as is necessary," the *Bocabulario*

comments). In the case of *tampiyok*, the ship lowers its mast with sail furled around it (*hagukun*) and removes its awning to reduce wind resistance. (Awnings are carried away often enough for the process to have its own term—*kakas* or *kakkat*.) Then it proceeds against the wind—*sombol* or *sompong*—by manpower. To strike sails suddenly, however, because of high wind, to anchor, or for tactical purposes, is *landak*. For a vessel to be delayed by adverse winds is *bungbung*, and to be carried adrift or off course by either wind or current is *pilpil*, or *samapay* if actually driven ashore.

The effects of the sea on Philippine shipping have a rich vocabulary of their own. Of the four basic motions of a ship at sea—yawing, pitching, rising and falling, and rolling—the first three are distinguished as *waling*, *powat* or *limpowat*, and *luyan*, but rolling is restricted to *kiyakiya*, “the rolling of a boat without outriggers.” For waves to pound a vessel is *amuk*, and to drop one on shore, shoals, or reefs is *buntar*. *Dapiya*, *dalapiya* or *tapowak* is the general term for destruction of all kinds—breaking up in heavy seas, beaching, striking reefs or rocks—while *sanglar* is grounding or failing in less dramatic ways. *Tokbol* is to strike submerged obstructions while underway, *sigak-sak* to run aground on a sandbar or reef and be stranded or broken up, and *bungkag* is to be destroyed in a flood. In distress, *dag-dag* is to jettison cargo, *hinubig* is to work pumps or bail, and *laka* is for *tambukos* to be broken off or stems to be loosened from the keel. *Tikyaob* is to capsize, *polang* is to be lost at sea with all hands without a trace, but *sangbat*—happily—is to go to a distressed vessel’s aid or pick up survivors or exhausted swimmers.

Another set of terms enables us to picture the waterfront of a port like Butuan—so busy, perhaps, that men pass from one boat to another across the outriggers—*tapon*. The anchorage itself is the *lawigan*. *Awil* is to anchor offshore or outside the shoals, *hampil* is to anchor inshore with the bow touching the beach, and *bulibuli* or *mulibuli* is to moor by a stern line. *Hangiya* or *sangiya* is to beach a boat, or to beach it enough so that it looks like a crocodile with its head on the sand and its tail in the water. *Sakay* is to embark and *kawas* or *hawas* to disembark or unload cargo, and cargo itself is *lolan*, though cargo stowed on the “upper deck” *burulan* for special handling is *orong* or *tampapaw*. To shift or remove cargo to find something or get water out of the hold is *bungkal*, but to do so for the purpose of trimming the ship to an even keel is *kankan*. As the boat is loaded it naturally sinks deeper in the water—*lobo*—and if it is down by the bow, it is *sukmur*. But added buoyancy may be given it by lashing bamboos

along the hull—*kilikili*. If the vessel is small, the captain himself—*toway* or *tomoway*—will be in charge of all cargo, but if it is large enough, it will have a *tugub*—supercargo or purser. Joint ownership is *tapi*. A busy port will have boats under repair, too. *Tokor* is to put a ship in drydock—that is, shore it up with blocks under the keel. *Lombo* is to remove and replace some of the planks, *balarbar* is a more extensive refitting by replacing the planks on both sides, and *ungkag* is to strip it right down to the keel, rebuilding it with the old or new planks, or constructing a smaller vessel on the same keel, or even scuttling it. A boat so old it actually becomes a useless derelict is an *apal*.

The maritime vocabulary also permits an insight into ancient Philippine culture deeper than the mere details of nautical architecture and boat handling techniques. *Sakay* is to embark and travel by water, but the motivation for such embarkation and travel is revealed by another form of the same word, *hinakay*—to pay freightage, rent a boat, or take passage in one. Filipinos took to the sea, in short, for purposes of trade. But raiding was also an endemic part of their interisland contacts. The *Bocabulario* defines *bangga* as "For two or more vessels to attack or assault each other in battle, either because their crews intend to fight, or by chance," and *abay* as "Ships in convoy, or any enterprise for which people promise to stick together unto death." Moreover, as befits a real maritime culture, Philippine ships and boats partake of the sacred. The common *baroto* without outriggers is used for a form of divination called *kibang*: the occupants sit perfectly still amidships and the *diwata* (spirit) answers their questions by rocking the boat. And the great war *caracoas* which the Chinese said made the name Visaya a terror to all the islanders of the Eastern Sea, were dedicated with human sacrifices: *damilit* is to lie on the ground prostrate, and *mama-milit* is to launch a ship over a slave in that posture.

5. The role of boats in Philippine society

Boats supplied almost all the Filipino's personal transportation needs from carrying *basura* out to fertilize his crops to attending weddings or wakes. The farmers of Bantayan Island went to farm their fields in Cebu, and the miners of Camarines to work the gold deposits of Masbate, by boat. But mainly, Philippine boats were used for four purposes—fishing, trade, warfare, and a combination of the last two which the Spaniards called piracy but which might more meaningfully be called trade-raiding. Fishing has always provided the major source of pro-

tein for coast-dwelling Filipinos, but local waters are too rich in this food to offer much incentive for the development of large and complex vessels. A *barangay* with only two or three planks on a side will satisfy most needs, or even a *baroto* with nothing more than woven *sawali* sides coated with beeswax or almaciga sap. It was trade that supported the Filipino boat-builder, whether hewing out one-man canoes for carrying a bunch of bananas to the next barrio, or constructing seagoing cruisers for handling such luxury cargo as gold, slaves, and Chinese porcelains. A consideration of this trade, together with its related activities of warfare and raiding, suggests that it inspired the refinement of the plank-built *caracoa*, justified the capital investment of building and maintaining one, and made possible whatever political vassalage existed between Filipinos in different islands.

In the early 16th century, Manila—or, more accurately, Luzon—was the only point in the archipelago regularly sending Filipino traders to foreign ports. New converts to Islam, these “Luzones” carried gold, wax, honey and foodstuffs to their partners or kinsmen in Borneo, picked up camphor, and proceeded to Malacca for Indian textiles, hardware and jewelry. They traded as far south as Timor, and were the easternmost agents of a larger network which included a colony of 500 of their countrymen at Minjam, 250 kilometers up the west coast of Malaysia from Malacca, and such notables as the Tumenggong of Malacca, Arejimute Raja, who regularly sent vessels to Siam, Sunda and China, or Curede Raja who dispatched his annual *jong* to China laden with pepper. It is not insignificant that Tome Pires, describing the great Chinese metropolis of Canton before the Portuguese reached that port, ends with the note, “So the Luzones say who have been there.” An Italian pilot of the Villalobos expedition has left a tantalizing hint of possible direct trade with the Chinese mainland—an oared vessel encountered in Visayan waters in 1543 that boasted of making the China run in five or six days but, alas, with no mention of its port of origin. Whatever the case, by the middle of the century, Luzones were no longer sailing direct to China if ever they had done so. Instead, they were dominating or monopolizing the resale of Chinese goods within the archipelago which had been carried to Luzon in Fokienese junks. One of them told Legazpi that “since what they carry are goods from China, they call boats from Borneo and Luzon Chinese junks in these islands, and even they themselves are called Chinese among these islands, but in fact Chinese junks do not reach there [Butuan] because they are very big ships not

fit for sailing between these islands.”¹⁶

Thus it does not appear that the China-Philippine trade was conducted in Philippine bottoms. That plank-built boats were able to do so is clear, but that they were regularly used for this purpose is not. We know that Visayan *caracoas* were on the Fukien coast in the 12th century. Governor Wang Ta-yu of Ch'üan-chow was eye-witness to a raid by three chiefs with several hundred followers sometime between 1174 and 1189; he said “the Visayan complexion is as dark as lacquer, so their tattoos can hardly be seen.”¹⁷ Two centuries earlier in 982, Mindoro merchants appeared on the Canton coast with merchandise for sale, but the Chinese report of the contact is too brief to reveal whether they arrived in their own ships or not. At any event, in the 13th and 14th centuries, Ma-i on the southern coast of Mindoro opposite Ilin Island was an entrepot for foreign merchantmen, and from there these imports were redistributed by domestic shipping. The cotton cloth from Ma-i which was noted on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in the 1349 *Tao I Chih Lüeh* was therefore probably delivered by non-Filipino traders, no doubt of the same sort as those who flooded the Philippines with so much Sung, Yüan, Ming and Sawankhalok porcelain that hundreds of thousands of pieces have survived. By the 15th century, Ma-i had been eclipsed by another trading port in northern Mindoro which the Chinese called Mao-li-wu, whose ruler sent a Muslim emissary to China in 1405. And by the 16th, Chinese merchants were delivering their wares direct to Manila Bay under contract to Rajah Lakan Dula of Tondo, whence they were re-tailed for local consumption in native outriggers.

The picture of Philippine domestic trade, however, is rather clearer—every community traded with other communities, and most of them did it by boat. The inter-barrio feuding which appears as endemic in Spanish accounts might suggest at first reading that such barrios were perforce isolated from one another and therefore self-sufficient. But the same accounts specifically name the betrayal of amicable intercourse as the major cause for war—“If a Filipino goes to a town and they kill him there without cause,” as Loarca says, “or if they go to trade in other towns as friends and they offend or maltreat them there and commit treachery against them under cover of friendship.”¹⁸

¹⁶ Anon. *Relacion*, op. cit., p. 467.

¹⁷ Lou Yao, *Kung Kuei Chi*, ch. 88.

¹⁸ Miguel de Loarca, *Tratado* (MS 1582), text in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 140.

If there were any Filipino communities which supplied all their own food, clothing, tools, and weapons, Spanish accounts do not describe them. Rather, the total impression is one of continual movements of rice, camotes, bananas, coconuts, wine, fish, game, salt, and cloth between coastal barrios—to say nothing of iron, gold, jewelry, porcelain, and slaves. That is no doubt why the Suluan Filipinos' first reaction to Magellan's appearance on Homonhon was to go home and get two boatloads of coconuts and bananas to sell him.

When the Spaniards reached the Philippines, the main long-range trade item was rice. Cebu was a redistribution center for the Visayas, drawing supplies from as far away as the east coast of Minadanao, and Panay, which was second only to Manila in output. Rajah Katuna of Bohol received a boatload of rice from a Leyte vassal in Cabalian during Legazpi's visit in April 1565, and that Adelantado himself only survived a two-year attempt by Cebuanos to starve him out because of Moro deliveries from Manila at inflated prices. (It may be worth noting that both these Surigao-Cebu and Leyte-Bohol rice lines could be controlled from a little island called Limasawa where the Rajah of Butuan and his brother Kolambu used to go "hunting.") The Manila Bay area was supplied from four Pampanga towns with controlled irrigation—Betis, Lubao, Guagua and Mexico—except during February and March when Ilocano shipping brought it from both the Ilocos and Cagayan. The Bikolanos even had a word for loading rice directly into a ship's hold in bulk without anything under it—*oray*. But there was a wide variety of specialized trade as well. The breeding of goats, for example, caused Simara Island to be called Cabras Island, just as the sale of swine (*babuy*) and sugarcane wine (*basi*) branded the Babuyan Islands and the Bashi Channel. Expert shipwrights supported the economies of Cagayan de Sulu and tiny Buracay off Panay, while those of Catanduanes literally peddled their wares by loading smaller ones into larger. Cuyo Islanders wove cotton but did not grow it, and kept the inhabitants of neighboring islands in mat-weaving and salt-making subjugation. Farmers on Batbatan Island raised wheat on the north coast of Panay, and Bohol potters marketed their wares in Butuan, where prehispanic samples have been recovered from archaeological sites.

The extent and value of this trade is indicated by the fact that Cebu was the second largest settlement in the Philippines despite not having access to the ricefields, inland forests or gold-mines enjoyed by the competing ports of Manila and Butuan. Cebuanos told Father Alcina that the prehispanic town had

stretched along the beach for eight kilometers, and he believed them on the evidence of ancient graveyards and house-posts exposed by erosion. But the most impressive demonstration of Filipino merchandising was the delivery of imported trade porcelains to every Filipino language group from Bontoc to Bohol, from Manila to Marawi—war-making, slave-raiding or head-taking as they may have been. This is a distribution achieved by no other product until American colonial power made 20th-century marketing techniques feasible. Rajah Kolambu wine and dined Pigafetta out of Chinese porcelain, and when Magellan requested rice, presented him with unhusked palay in Chinese porcelain. Such jars and plates were priced in terms of human slaves, and included along with gold in that heirloom wealth called *bahandi* without which no Filipino datu could demand respect or exercise leadership. Nor were the Spaniards slow to assess the situation. When they sacked Sarangani Island in 1543, they dug up some hastily buried porcelain and carried it off as prizes of war for the Viceroy of Mexico, but traded it off for food in Samar instead.

Another evidence of prehispanic Philippine commerce is the vocabulary it produced, samples of which can be found in the early 17th-century Spanish lexicons. The Mentrída 1637 *Visayan Bocabulario*, for example, provides such retailing divisions as dealing in basic foodstuffs by sea (*baligiya*), rice and grain (*dalawat*), second-hand goods (*lito*), slaves (*botong*), or notions for the ladies (*biniyaga*). Specialized terms running from barter to big business can be selected from Marcos de Lisboa's 1618 *Vocabulario de la Lengua bicol*—e.g., *balabag*, to exchange goods; *bahay*, to pay in gold or silver; *balos*, to pay in labor; *bongto*, to sell on commission; *sangholi*, to go into partnership; and *hampil*, a raid in which the junior partner supplies half the outfitting expenses to the ship's owner and receives one-third of the take. Really high finance, however, is best displayed in the San Buenaventura Tagalog dictionary of 1613. There, *tapa* shows up as capital or company (e.g., *Mag kano ang iniyong pinagtapa?*—How much have each of you put in the company? *Mamolong salapi ang aming pinagtapa*—We are each putting in ten *tostones* as capital). *Angka* means to corner the market, and a dozen terms for the usury to finance such ventures start with *laba*, 20% (*pagihit* if calculated monthly, *ganda* if annually), and range up to *ibayiw*, 100%, and *dalawa-lima*, 150%. The underlying ethic of this economy is probably to be found in the word *bitang* which refers to the inexorable daily increase of the traditional agricultural loan. Father San Buenaventura defines its basic meaning as "A mortgage such that while it is unredeemed the debtor and

the one who gave the money divide the field every year."

Still another evidence of the extent of *caracoa*-carried commerce was the news they also carried along Philippine coasts and from island to island all the way to the Moluccas. When Loaysa's flagship, the *Santa María de la Victoria*, anchored in Lianga Bay in 1526, its crew ignored a local report of Spaniards shipwrecked farther south, not realizing that they had been preceded a few weeks by the *Santa María del Parral*. A year later one of those Spaniards, then serving a local chieftain by the name of Katunaw, was told about the *Victoria's* visit by a native of the Marianas Islands who had been impressed with ten others to work the leaking *Victoria's* pumps and then escaped. Two other survivors of the *Parral* wound up in Maguindanao, where they were notified in 1528 by the Sultan of Brunei that he had been informed of their presence by the Portuguese Governor of Malacca who was requesting their delivery to him, and that the Sultan would gladly provide transportation if they wished to go—and they did. Magellan's own *Victoria*, leaving the Philippines after his death, found somebody on Palawan who could speak enough Spanish to translate for them, and captured a Moro off the coast of Mindanao who had been in the house of his good friend, Francisco Serrano, in Ternate. And all four of the post-Magellanic expeditions were given word of the fate of the survivors of the Cebu Massacre of 1 May 1521, two of whom survived as Filipino *bihags* (captives) for 40 years.

But the *caracoa* is basically a warship, not a cargo carrier, and Philippine languages distinguish even more tactics of war than of commerce. These include terms for raids, sneak attacks, camouflage and ambush, bow-to-bow boarding, razing coastal villages, and probing strikes to test enemy strength—as well as such refinements of personal conduct as Bikol *togkod*, "to await enemies without fear," Visayan *patay*, "to fight to the death rather than surrender," or Tagalog *puli*, "to take a fallen comrade's place to avenge him." All these variations fall under the general heading of *ngayaw* or *kayaw*, a word which means "raid" and appears as *mangayaw* in all the major languages of the Philippines and, indeed, of insular southeast Asia from Mindanao to Malacca as well. This is the activity Spanish accounts inaccurately call "piracy." Modern international law defines piracy as robbery on the high seas, and although it is true that *mangayaw* raiders took weaker vessels at sea, when they did so they were not breaking any recognized law but rather performing a socially approved deed. Like the epic cattle raids of Ulysses or Irish folk hero Cu Chulainn, *mangayaw* was the esteemed occupation of the able-bodied male who could afford it. Its heroes'

feats were the stuff of lyric and legend, and Father Alcina cites a Samareño ballad whose heroine is so coy she keeps sending suitors off on raids to Mindanao and Jolo, then Ternate and finally Grand China itself. What was reprehensible in Philippine morality was not the act of plunder itself, but doing it to those who had not done it to you. That is why one of them climbed up in a tree in Cainta soon after the Spanish seizure of Manila and shouted out in the middle of the night, "What did we ever do to you, or what did our ancestors owe yours, that you should come to plunder us!"¹⁹

Although *mangayaw* raiders took booty both ashore and afloat when they could, their real object was slaves. Chattel slavery was common to civilized societies in the 16th century all over the world and Spain was no exception: friars carried slaves across two oceans as personal servants at His Majesty's expense. But in economically diversified Europe, the trade was licensed by national governments as separate monopolies. It is to call attention to this difference that the mixed merchandizing of *caracoa* commerce is here referred to as "trade-raiding." Potential customers for this trade in the Philippines were legion because the purchase of slaves was an ordinary area for investing surplus wealth—Bikol *saleu* means "to buy slaves, dogs, houses, or boats." Filipino communities supplied most of their own slave labor locally by usury and penal action, but always preferred aliens for religious purposes—that is, sacrifice. (Loarca considered this a commendable attitude: "They always see that this is a foreign slave, not a native," he says, "for they really are not cruel at all.")²⁰ A foreign market was provided by the petty potentates of maritime principalities to the south, and after the 17th century, colonial plantations and households expanded it.

In the 16th century, however, ransom appears to have been a more regular source of profit than outright sale: Visayan *utao*, for example, means "To display captives for exchange on the boat without letting them go ashore." Capture and liberation were daily facts of life, and communities collected contributions to rescue victims or render them charitable aid afterwards. If a man invested in a raid as a silent partner, he was obligated to put up half his active partner's ransom money as soon as he was captured, and was himself entitled to no return on his original investment. A datu's rank among his peers was indicated by his ransom worth—or what would be called *wergeld*

¹⁹ Letter from Fray Martín de Rada dated Calompit, 16 July 1577, in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 8 (1831), p. 377.

²⁰ Loarca, op. cit., p. 134.

("man-price") if he were killed—and the capture of a high-priced individual was the bonanza every raider dreamed of and planned for. Such men were treated with respect and quickly ransomed since anybody who could afford to do so could expect to be reimbursed at twice the sum he had advanced. As a matter of fact, to underestimate a man's exchange value was a non-too-subtle affront to his dignity—or what Mindanao Moros call *maratabat*. When Spaniards captured a dignitary in 1521 whom Pigafetta called "the Governor of Palawan" and ransomed him off for rice and livestock, he generously added coconuts, bananas, sugarcane, and jars full of wine, as it befit his station to do.

The importance of *mangayaw* trade-raids in Philippine society is indicated by the fact that they were carried out by a separate social class. These are called *timawa*, and in classic Visayan culture they are the sons or descendants of datu by secondary wives, who neither work fields nor pay tribute but are obligated to man their datu's boat, armed at their own expense, whenever he puts to sea. In return, they receive a share of the spoils, and have the right to transfer their services to another datu if they choose. But their captain—*tomoway*—is a datu and has both authority and responsibility: there is a Bicol term, *bonglo*, which means "for a captain to ransom his captured comrades." His *timawa* are rewarded at his pleasure, just as their children inherit at his pleasure, and all captives belong to him: a crewman must reimburse him if he kills one. These are professions which were destined to disappear under foreign occupation, of course: the *mangayaw* skills which could defend a Visayan community against Mindanao and Sulu attack could also be turned against invasion from Leon and Castile. And as they disappeared, the popular image of one group of Filipinos as helpless victims of another was created by Spanish disarmament of all those who accepted their sovereignty.

Timawas assigned to paddle on the outrigger *darambas* were held in lower status than those inside the hull, and those manning the *burulan* fighting deck were considered a real warrior elite. In Malay, these latter were called "men-of-the-*baileu* [i.e., *burulan*]," and Antonio Galvano describes their full hierarchy in the Moluccas as follows:

And the King travels up on the *baileus* with his captains and mandarins, and their sons who are still youths down below paddling, and others at the paddles on the *cangalhas* [*darambas*], and when they want to promote them, they elevate them to the *baileu* and they do not paddle. This is the highest honor that is given. So long as they do not perform any deed

of valor, they may not carry a sword or receive such a promotion, which is like a knighthood; and when they move them inside the hull, it is already a greater dignity; afterwards, if they deserve it, they elevate them to the *baileu* and they give up their paddles.²¹

In the Philippines, it appears that the lower ranks of this naval hierarchy even included those commoners the Spaniards indiscriminately called "slaves." Such a non-*timawa* crewman could theoretically save enough from his share of the spoils to buy his freedom and then work his way up the military ladder until, if he were man enough for it, he might even attract a following of his own and become a *datu*. The first *conquistadores*, however, accustomed as they were to galley slaves in their own navies, did not recognize these Viking-like professionals: Bernardo de la Torre in 1543 thought a Samar chieftain by the name of Iherein was rowed out to his flagship by slaves wearing gold collars. The real *timawa* was usually an experienced seafarer who shared such trade-raiding sophistication as his master's command of Malay, the lingua-franca of southeast Asian trade. Thus Magellan's Malay-speaking slave was immediately understood in Limasawa by the oarsmen serving the brother of Rajah Awi of Butuan, one of the most cosmopolitan ports in the archipelago.

The *caracoa* may therefore be seen as a key to the political scene in the 16th-century Philippines: those who had them dominated those who did not. Coastal communities that had none—or could not launch them fast enough if they had—would, at the least, have been potential victims for the slave trade. This is, in fact, precisely the condition later suffered by Filipinos under Spanish occupation: as some of them told Ríos Coronel, "Let us be free, and let us have arms, and we shall be able to defend ourselves as we did before the advent of the Spaniards."²² Yet not every community could build or man a *caracoa*. The manpower, social organization, and mechanical skill to extract two dozen curved planks 25 meters long from hardwood giants in some interior forest, and then convert them into a sophisticated sea-going vessel along the beach, could not have been available to all. Moreover, those *burulan* runways indicate that the *caracoa* were designed for more advanced naval warfare than the simple

²¹ Antonio Galvano, text in Hubert Jacobs, *A treatise on the Moluccas* (c. 1544), probably the preliminary version of Antonio Galvano's lost *Historia das Moluccas* (Rome 1971), p. 41.

²² Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, *Memorial y Relación* (Madrid 1621), translated in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., Vol. 19, p. 218.

running down of the inhabitants of some defenseless fishing village. The crew of a *caracoa* engaged in a naval duel who could get 200 paddles in the water simultaneously and carry out a captain's orders quickly could expect to survive the battle, carry off enough booty to contract brides of their choice, and rear up another generation with skills like their own. The only alternative to active participation in this seafaring, trade-raiding life style was alliance by blood, marriage, or vassalage to those who practiced it.

To whatever extent the *caracoa* produced this political scene or was the product of it, it was obviously an integral part of it. At the time Spanish friars started describing Philippine society, there were coastal communities that purchased their security with annual tribute to a distant overlord who sent his *caracoas* to collect it. But those with *caracoas* of their own are not portrayed in such roles of outright subjugation. Rather, their chieftains appear as being related to one another in a kind of political pecking order characterized by deference rather than domination. Thus Katuna of Bohol had a rice-producing supporter in Leyte but himself deferred to another Bohol rajah called Si Gala, and both of them were outranked by a Boholano with the fine name of Pagbuwaya who migrated to Dapitan in 1563, quickly established lordship over the Subanon there, and then joined the Spanish cause in 1565. Such peer relationships are still distinguished in Maranao as *pegawid* "support" and *pegawidan* "supported." There were also those who topped a sufficient network of vassals, *primus inter pares*, to become harbor princelings collecting anchorage fees in their own bailiwicks. How much an armed cruiser paid in such fees in any particular port of call depended upon the relative ranks of the parties involved, and these ranks were established by the protocol of exchanging gifts. That is what Saripada Humabon of Cebu was evidently trying to establish after Magellan's *Victoria*, *Trinidad* and *Concepción* fired off the heaviest guns ever heard in Philippine waters, and dropped anchor. When he was informed that his visitors were not going to pay harbor fees because their overlord was so powerful, he simply asked whether gifts were expected by three captains or if one would receive for all. And it is also what Rajah Sultan Mansur of Tidore was doing eight months later when he swore allegiance to the King of Spain on the Koran, and then loaded the rotting *Trinidad* with so much spices her seams opened.

6. Summary

Planks from two ancient Philippine boats were discovered

in Butuan in 1976-1977, excavated by the staff of the National Museum, and dated to the 14th century by radiocarbon-14 technology. The boats were edge-pegged and plank-built—that is, their planks were hand-carved, fastened together by pegs in adjoining edges, and lashed to ribs by means of wooden lugs carved out of the planks themselves. This is a style of boat-building which once extended from Scandinavia to the South Pacific from the third century B.C. to the present time in a few remote islands.

By the 16th century, a highly refined plank-built warship had been developed in Southeast Asia which was called a *caracoa* in the Philippines. It was a sleek, double-ended vessel 20-25 meters long, with low freeboard and light draft, quarter rudders and tripod masts with square sails, a raised fighting deck amidships, and double outriggers with accommodations for several banks of paddlers. In contrast to Spanish galleons or Chinese junks, the *caracoa* was especially adapted for carrying warriors at high speed before seasonal winds through reef-filled waters and dangerous currents. It was used mainly for interisland trade-raids by harbor princelings with limited capital.

Filipino expertise in boat-building and seamanship was employed by the Spanish colonial regime in *caracoa* fleets to fight Moros and in mercantile galleons to cross the Pacific. Filipino nautical skills are attested by Spanish accounts, and the importance of the seafaring life in classic Philippine culture is demonstrated by the vocabularies contained in early 17th-century Spanish dictionaries of Philippine languages. A detailed description of Philippine boat-building techniques is included in Francisco Alcina's unpublished 1668 "Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas."

Boats were the only Philippine transportation, and all commercial and political contacts depended upon them. Trade included the local exchange of foodstuffs, the exploitation of special marketing patterns, and the distribution of imports like Chinese porcelain throughout the archipelago. Slaves were taken in raids called *mangayaw* by trade-raiders whose exploits were acclaimed in lyric and legend. Trade-raiding formed the basis of pacts between maritime leaders in which precedence was expressed in terms of personal deference rather than political domination. Communities that did not have the means for such trade-raids achieved security through alliances by blood, marriage or vassalage with those who did. The *caracoa* may therefore be seen as the key to the political scene in the the 16th-century Philippines: those who had them dominated those who did not.

Filipino Class Structure in the Sixteenth Century*

The present paper offers summary results of a study of sixteenth century Filipino class structure insofar as it can be reconstructed from the data preserved in contemporary Spanish sources. The major accounts on which it is based have been available in English since the publication of the Blair and Robertson translations early in this century, and have recently been made accessible to the general Filipino reading public by F. Landa Jocano in a convenient and inexpensive volume entitled *The Philippines at the Spanish Contact*. At least four of these accounts were written for the specific purpose of analyzing Filipino society so that colonial administrators could make use of indigenous institutions to govern their new subjects. Yet any history teacher who has tried to use them to extract even such simple details as the rights and duties of each social class, for purposes of his own understanding and his students' edification, knows how frustrating the exercise can be.

The problems are many. The accounts were not, of course, written by social scientists and are therefore understandably disorderly, imprecise, and even contradictory. They do not, for example, distinguish legislative, judicial, and executive functions in native governments, nor do they even indicate whether *datu* is a social class or a political office. On one page they tell us that a ruling chief has life-and-death authority over his subjects, but on the next, that these subjects wander off to join some other chief if they feel like it. They describe a second social class as "free-men—neither rich nor poor" as if liberty were an economic attribute, while one account calls them "plebeians" and another "gentlemen and cavaliers." The *maharlika*, whom the modern Filipino

*This is a slightly modified version of a paper originally published by the Third World Studies, University of the Philippines, as Paper No. 13 (1978). I wish to acknowledge with gratitude a grant in 1977-78 from the Social Science Research Council, New York, which made possible the research on which this paper is based as well as a companion piece, "Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines," published in *Philippine Studies* 27 (1979): 137-59.

knows as "noblemen," show up as oarsmen rowing their master's boats or fieldhands harvesting his crops. And a third category called "slaves" everybody agrees are not slaves at all; yet they may be captured in raids, bought and sold in domestic and foreign markets, or sacrificed alive at their master's funeral. Moreover, if the data as recorded in the original documents are confusing, they are made even more so by the need to translate sixteenth century Spanish terms which have no equivalent in modern English. Thus *pechero* becomes "commoner" and loses its significance as somebody who renders feudal dues.

It was a decade of frustrating attempts to resolve such contradictions that inspired the present study.

Seven basic documents were used for the study: Miguel de Loarca's *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (1582); Juan de Plasencia's *Relación de las costumbres de los indios se han tener en estas islas* and *Instrucción de las costumbres que antiguamente tenían los naturales de la Pampanga en sus Pleitos* (1589); Pedro Chirino's *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (1604); chapter eight of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*; the anonymous late sixteenth century Boxer manuscript; and the unpublished "Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas" (1668) of Francisco Alcina.

Loarca was an *encomendero* in Arevalo, Panay, with ten years' experience—including the operation of a shipyard in Oton—at the time he wrote his account; it is therefore not surprising that he includes more economic details than any of the others. Plasencia was a Franciscan missionary for twelve years in the Tagalog-speaking lake district east of Manila, who translated the *Doctrina Cristiana* which after his death became the first book printed in the Philippines. His description of his parishioners' customs runs to concise but comprehensive statements indicating personal experience, careful observation, and thoughtful reflection. His treatise on Pampanga law remained the best work on Philippine custom law until Barton's *Ifugao Law* (1919). Chirino was a Jesuit who served during the 1590s in both the Visayas and Luzon. His work is scholarly, organized, and edited for publication, but contains data on social structure only incidental to telling the story of his Society's early evangelizing efforts in the Philippines.

Morga was a Doctor of Canon Law who held two of the highest offices of the colonial government during the last five years of the sixteenth century, and although he spent considerable time building and commanding fleets with Filipino manpower and materials, he had no experience at the barrio level. His justly re-

spected *Sucesos* is a professional, highly literate, and chronologically arranged history whose eighth chapter is the most comprehensive description of the archipelago and its people of his generation. Alcina was a Jesuit who, although he arrived late on the scene—sixty years after Loarca—spent thirty years learning to know the people and language of Samar and Leyte before writing his monumental work on Visayan ethnography and natural science. His nine chapters on preconquest Filipino government, warfare, and slavery remain the most penetrating study of Philippine society in the Spanish period.

Since the so-called Boxer codex, of unknown but presumably Manila provenance, has been largely ignored by historians, a few words may be said about it. Jocano used it to good effect in the introduction to his *The Philippines*, but other scholars have tended to dismiss it as a rehash of earlier accounts. Careful scrutiny, however, suggests that it is an original, eyewitness description whose author was probably not even familiar with the other accounts. (Why would he have ignored their accurate description of tattooing techniques and persist in thinking Visayan specimens were applied with hot irons?) He provides the earliest description of how to make that garment the Maranaos call a *malong*, gives a drawing of a sexual device well-known from the other accounts, and makes explicit one fact the others only imply—that the *gigid* house-slave becomes a *namamahay* householder upon marriage. His unwitnessed data are detailed but unstudied, and were evidently taken down from personal informants. He notes, for example, that hunters working for Moro masters must be sure to reach the game before the dogs do because Islamic law requires animals to be bled before butchering. The author was probably an intelligent, observant traveler, perhaps a colonial officer, who did not stay long in one place, could not speak any Philippine language, and used an interpreter given to Mexican spelling conventions like *aguiguilitl*.

The goal of this study was to discover a distinct, non-contradictory and functional meaning for each Filipino term used in the Spanish accounts. The methodology had four stages. First, the original texts were examined and compared, with all such Spanish terms as *principales* and *esclavos*, etc., removed. Second, the Spanish use of the Filipino terms during the first century of occupation was examined in contemporary dictionaries, decrees, and correspondence. Third, the sixteenth century meanings of the Spanish terms in Spanish society were studied, and their applicability to Filipino classes assessed. And, finally, a synthesis was attempted which would resolve all contradictions by recourse to

sectional variations, the authors' personal interests, and genuine anachronisms due to socioeconomic changes during the second half of the sixteenth century. The results are presented below in two sections, one for Luzon and the other for the Visayas, for obvious reasons of differences in the terminologies themselves.

LUZON

Father Plasencia describes Filipinos as being divided into four social conditions or "estates": *principales*, *hidalgos*, *pecheros*, and *esclavos*. These appear to be functional divisions as he conceived them, for he separates the common tribute-payer (*pechero*) from the "true" slaves, calls the *principales* "*datus*," and comments that they are "like knights" (*como caballeros*), that is, holders of an office, not members of a class. In a separate treatise on custom law, however, he only distinguishes three estates: those of ruler, ruled, and slave, as Doctor of Canon Law Antonio de Morga also did, and like Morga does not equate *principal* with *datu*.

Members of the first two of these estates are enfranchised with the right to make or break client-patron relationships, but are distinguished from one another for purposes of administering justice and fixing fines, wergeld, and inheritance. Those in the First Estate have the right to trial by their peers, those in the Second to trial by those in the First. The Third have no right to trial at all. They are not enfranchised in the eyes of the law and are dependent upon their masters' favor for justice; they do not even appear in the statutes Plasencia codified by interviewing wise old men in Pampanga.

The Spaniards called all members of this First Estate, whether actually occupying positions of rule or not, *principales*. Since the Real Academia Española defines *principal* as a "person or thing that holds first place in value or importance and is given precedence and preference before others," it is a suitable term, more so than any English equivalent. None of the accounts give a Filipino equivalent for this word, but it was surely either *maginoo* or some other derivative of *poon/pund* ("chief, leader"). Plasencia translates "Lord God" as *Panginoon Dios*, and one of the leaders who surrendered the Port of Manila in 1571 was Maginoo Marlanaway. The force of the word is made clear in the San Buenaventura dictionary: *pund* is defined as "principal or head of a lineage," *ginoo* as "noble by lineage and parentage, family and descent," and *maginoo* as "principal in lineage or parentage," and *señor* (lord) is equated with all three. They are obviously to be

distinguished from nouveau riche imitators scornfully called *maygintao*, "man with gold"—or, as San Buenaventura says, "*Hidalgo* by gold, not lineage, a 'dark knight,' as we would say." Whatever it was called, the class constituted a birthright aristocracy with claims to respect, obedience, and support from those of subordinate status. They will be called "chiefs" in this paper, in the sense of being of the chiefly class, not in the sense of being rulers.

People in the Second Estate had the theoretical right to shift allegiance from one *maginoo* to another and so were called *libres* or *libertos* in later Spanish accounts, and *freemen* in modern English. But they were not free in the sense that they had no chief at all: rather they were vassals who rendered service to some overlord. Some paid feudal dues in the form of agricultural labor and were called *timawa*, while others rendered military service and were called *maharlika*. But in either case, whether men of substance following their lords to war or humble farmers working his fields in season, they were enfranchised in the eyes of the law and could bring suit.

The unenfranchised and disfranchised of the Third Estate were called *alipin*, a term all Spanish sources translate as slave. The Academia defines *esclavo* as "one who lacks liberty because of being under the control of another," so the term does not necessarily connote chattel or captive. In the Philippines, the majority of them were actually serfs, peons, bondsmen, debtors, or dependents—or what Filipinos called "householders," *alipin namamahay*. Those who could be legally sold were called "hearth slaves," *alipin sa gigilid*, and the distinction was often deliberately blurred by oppressive creditors haling them before a Spanish judge who was ignorant of Philippine social structure. All *alipin* were in a condition of more or less servitude, but this servitude was negotiable so they could not necessarily be distinguished from the Second Estate by their economic condition alone. What sets the *alipin* of the Third Estate apart from the *maginoo*, *maharlika*, and *timawa* of the first two Estates is their want of franchise—the right to change lords or file a law suit.

None of the accounts record any political office other than that of *datu*, the ruler of a *barangay*. Other Spanish sources refer to any super-*baraganic* political power, or pretensions to power, as oddities or actual aberrations, especially the one at the mouth of the Pasig River which they regard as an alien intrusion. Morga uses the word *datu* only once, applying it to officers (*mandadores*) who assist a chief in the administration of a *barangay*, and *barangay* itself he calls a *parcialidad* (faction or party). These variations probably reflect the viewpoint of a highly

placed colonial official stationed in a former harbor principality where his personal contact with Filipinos was restricted to members of the ex-royalty. The *principalía* to whom he refers had already absorbed the heirs of conquered rulers with impressive personal titles like *Rajah Matanda* Aceh, *Rajah Muda* Solayman, and *Si Bunaw Lakan* Dula, who in their day had obviously been superordinate to mere *datus* since Legazpi recognized their right to surrender Manila in the name of all the other chiefs. By Morga's day, twenty-five years later, their descendants' political prerogatives had already been converted into economic advantages like exemption from tribute. The process is unconsciously reflected in the rhetoric of the original accounts: they describe the role of the ruling chiefs in the past tense, but those of their subjects and slaves in the present.

THE FIRST ESTATE

The Spanish accounts do not describe the class of *maginoo* but only the office of *datu*. A *datu*, needless to say, must be a member of the *maginoo* class. The meaning of the word is made clear by the early Tagalog-Spanish dictionaries: he is the ruler of a *barangay* (e.g., "*nagdarato*: to rule the barrio or *barangay*"), and a *barangay* is a "barrio of people subject to one"—and synonymous with *dolohan*, "barrio or faction of people subject to one head." Plasencia thinks each one of them was a single family in origin, and since *barangay* also means "boat," he speculates that the role of *datu* arose from the captain of a boat migrating to the Philippines with his family, relatives, and servants. It is difficult to believe that Philippine barrios could have maintained their discrete boatload identities across centuries or millenia, but Plasencia, like other Spaniards of his day, thought the Filipino people had only arrived in the archipelago a short time before. A more likely explanation would be that a *datu* is one who governs like the captain of a ship, that is, with uncontested authority. In fact, most *datus* were captains of ships; rowing for them is listed among their vassals' duties in every one of the accounts. Perhaps a *barangay* was the social unit necessary to build, launch, supply, and fight a man-of-war and support its captain's argosies.

At any event, a *barangay* varied in size from thirty to a hundred households, and was normally part of a settlement (*pueblo*) which included other *barangays*, either contiguous to it or at some distance. These settlements, or at least the land they occupy, appear to be what the dictionaries call a *bayan*, namely, "place for a pueblo" or "pueblo where the people live," as in the question, "*Kaninong pabuwisan ang bayang ito?*" (Whose estate is the

bayán here?) Assuming this to be the case, a given *barangay* might have claims to swidden land in more than one *bayán*, and serfs (*alipin namamahay*) might be inherited from one *barangay* to another but could not be removed from the *bayán* itself. Tay-tay, Rizal had four *barangays*—and four *datús*—with a hundred families each when Father Chirino arrived in 1591. The Boxer manuscript thinks three or four *datús* are normal for such a settlement, in contrast to one or two in the Visayas. Loarca says that if ten or more *datús* live in the same pueblo, they obey the wealthiest among them, but Morga says only the best warriors are obeyed, while Plasencia holds that the *datús* were not subject to one another at all “except by way of friendship and kinship,” and adds that chiefs helped one another with their *barangays* in the wars they had.”

Sources of Datu's Authority. The Boxer manuscript calls *datús* “*señores de título* (titled lords). Eligibility for title is *maginoo* lineage which is reckoned bilaterally, though the office itself, being exercised only by men, passes through the male line from father to son or brother. The office is the source of the *datu's* authority, but his power depends upon the fealty of men in the Second Estate and the support of those in the Third. Since the former are enfranchised, they can in theory give their allegiance to the *datu* of their choice, and their choice is usually the best warrior. (*Datus* who die with a reputation for bravery in battle go to the grave accompanied by live slaves—in actual ships in the case of those of special Viking valor.) A powerful *datu* is therefore literally a popular *datu*, some so much so as to attract others of their peers. In such cases, important decisions—especially legislative—are made by the chief *datu's* calling them all together and securing their acquiescence, his large house serving as the barrio hall. (Loarca comments from Panay, “The Pintados do not have this policy because nobody wishes to recognize another as more of a chief.”) All the accounts list the *datu's* duties as twofold: to govern his people, and to lead them in war—though good administrator Morga adds, “and succor them in their struggles and needs.” It is quite understandable, of course, that nobody mentions the primary duty of any lord to his vassals—that of defending them against their enemies, especially foreign invaders.

A *datu* has the duty to render judgment in any lawsuit filed by his followers. He convokes the litigants, hears sworn testimony, and hands down a decision—all in the presence of his people, and sometimes with the assistance of older men. His decision may be appealed, however, to an arbiter of the contestants' choice from another community, even a non-*datu*. In the case of theft,

the *datu* presides over—and may initiate and enforce—trial by oath, divination, or ordeal. He also participates in dispensing justice within the First Estate, appearing before a wise legalist acceptable to him and his accuser if he himself is sued, or combining with his peers to initiate such action in the case of others, and to contribute police power to enforce their decision afterwards. Where such arbitration fails, the plaintiff inaugurates a kin feud which runs its violent course until mutual exhaustion satisfies honor and both parties agree to payment of wergelds. The provisions of the law are handed down by tradition, but are liable to amendment by consensus among ruling *datu*s, and to circumvention by any among them powerful enough to do so. Penalties vary with the relative social status of the parties, and include restitution or indemnification in the case of theft, death for withcraft, murder, sexual advance, or infraction of religious taboo, and fines in all other cases. In the case of capital punishment or the totally dependent status of *gigilid* slavery, the presiding *datu* takes possession of the condemned man's children and accomplices, and compensates the plaintiff himself.

Control over disposition of *barangay* real property is vested in its *datu*. The distribution of irrigated land is of major consideration, but hillside swiddens are worked freely by any *barangay* member or even aliens with claims through intermarriage or prior arrangement with the *datu*. The *datu* has the right to retain certain land use privileges for himself: for example, the restriction of access to fisheries, or the collection of fees from a market opened at a strategic passage on a waterway. A *datu* may alienate territory—presumably on behalf of his entire *barangay*—or even convert his rights into regular payments from his subjects. The ruler of Pila, Laguna, for example, purchased it in gold from its former chief and then charged rentals from his own *maharlika* for its use. It is noteworthy that the rate was fixed at four cavans a year rather than at some percentage of the produce or size of the holding.

Services Received. A *datu* receives services, agricultural produce, and respect from his people who, in Laguna at least, are called his *katunguhan*, literally, "those who go along." The respect is shown by such deferential behavior as covering the mouth with the hand when addressing him, or contracting the body in a profound bow on entering his presence indoors and raising the hands alongside the cheeks. The same deference is shown his family and descendants, in office or out—to all *maginoo*, in short—and slander against any of them is severely punished. He receives a share of harvests as tribute except from men of *maginoo*

lineage, and additional contributions such as a jar of sugarcane wine or tuba at unscheduled seasons like feasts or funerals. Services are also of two kinds: seasonal field labor from which nobody is exempted of whatever class or condition, participation in maritime and military expeditions, and unscheduled occasions like house construction or opening new land, for all of which work the laborers are fed or feasted. The importance of seafaring duties is indicated by the considerable detail with which they are specified in the accounts: to equip and supply the vessel and then to row it, either as slaves of warriors, or to come, provisioned and armed, as soon as called and as often, and to follow wherever the *datu* leads.

Perhaps a clue to the Spanish assessment of the office of *datu* may be found in the fact that Plasencia likens them to knights (*como caballeros*) while he equates *maharlika*, *timawa*, and *alipin* directly with *hidalgo*, *pechero*, and *esclavo*, with no such reservation as *como*. A *caballero* is one endowed with a *caballería* (a knighthood) and a *caballería* is an *encomienda*, that is, "a commission: the office of certain knights of the military orders [or] the place, territory, or fees of this office." The Blancas de San José dictionary glosses *encomienda* with *pabuwisan*, from *buwis*, tribute or dues (*pecho*)—which is what Chief Saripada Humabon wanted Magellan to pay when he anchored in the port of Cebu. A *caballero* is thus one who collects dues from a certain district. It is probably the lack of a reigning monarch qualified to so invest Filipino *datu*s that moved Father Plasencia to say *como*.

THE SECOND ESTATE

Philippine custom law calls members of the Second Estate *timawa*, which Plasencia translates as "common people" (*la gente común*) and Morga as "plebeians" (*plebeyos*), both being terms which in sixteenth century Spanish suggest ineligibility to marry a person of royal blood. Their franchise depends upon competence to enter into client-patron relationships, not upon birth-right; that is, if they are not in debt to anybody, they are free to make such contracts, both as clients and as creditors to debtors or master to slaves. They enjoy agricultural rights to a portion of the *barangay* land, both to use and bequeath, and to harvest without paying any tribute. Although contractual relations vary and appear to include tribute in some cases, their patrons are basically their lords, not their landlords. Their normal obligation is agricultural labor worked off in groups when summoned for planting or harvesting, but they may also be liable to work fisheries, accompany expeditions, or row boats. And, like members

of the Third Estate, they can be called out for irregular services like supporting feasts or building houses.

Membership in the Second Estate is largely acquired. The *timawa* have their ultimate origin in the First and Third Estates. From the First they absorb the illegitimate offspring of *maginoo* with their unmarried slaves and married serfs, and from the Third, those who have successfully repaid debts, completed indenture, or literally purchased their freedom in gold. The definitions in the early Tagalog dictionaries are unambiguous. San Buenaventura defines *timawa* as "without servitude (*esclavonia*), neither rich nor poor," and *manga timawa* as "the free, the common people after the magnate," and illustrates with the example, "*titi-mawain kita* (I'll set thee free)." Blancas de San José is even more illuminating:

A free man who was formerly a slave, and from this they say *timawa* of one who escapes death by chance, like one in the hangman's noose and the rope breaks, or the bull that cannot be captured because of his bravery, and, changing the accent, *Nagtitimawak* of a slave who has freed himself by running away from his master, and the same with animals.

The Maharlika Aristocracy. The Second Estate also includes a birthright aristocracy called *maharlika* who render military service. The *maharlika* accompanies his captain abroad at his own expense whenever he calls and wherever he goes, rows his boat not as galley slave but as comrade-at-arms, and receives his share of the spoils afterwards. Plasencia's is the only account which mentions *maharlika* and it does not explain the origin of their ascribed status. Probably they were a sort of diluted *maginoo* blood—perhaps the descendants of mixed marriages between a ruling dynasty and one out of power, or scions of a conquered line which struck this bargain to retain some of its privileges. At any event, the *maharlika* are subject to the same requirements of seasonal and extraordinary community labor as everybody else in the *barangay*. Technically, they are less free than the ordinary *timawa* since, if they want to transfer their allegiance once they are married, they must host a public feast and pay their *datu* from six to eighteen pesos in gold. Their profession was destined to disappear under the colonial regime, of course, just as the *mangayaw* raids in which they practiced it disappeared. Indeed, it seems that it was already being downgraded in Plasencia's day: those *datos* controlling market places and collecting fishing fees were exemplars of the socioeconomic changes which

produced chiefs like the lord of Pila whose *maharlika* were reduced to a kind of *inquilino* status. A generation later San Buenaventura had already forgotten that they were "free" (*libres*) rather than "freed" (*libertos*), and so, evidently, had the Filipino people by the next century when Juan Francisco de San Antonio could cite as common Tagalog usage, "*Minahadlika ako nang panginoon ko* (My master freed me)." The Blancas de San José dictionary defines them as "freemen though with a certain subjugation in that they may not leave the *barangay*: they are the people called villeins (*la gente villano*)," literally countryfolk living outside some nobleman's villa. In 1754—long after they had disappeared, of course —Juan Delgado simply calls them "plebeians."

Plasencia calls the *maharlika* "*hidalgos*" and, as a matter of fact, the parallels are noteworthy. Training and maintenance for the warrior life are expensive for both the *maharlika* and *hidalgo*, so they must be men of substance to enter their profession, though they may be handsomely reimbursed in booty later. But substance alone is not enough: qualification in both cases includes descent from others of their class—for four generations, in the case of the *hidalgo*. Like the *maharlika*, the *hidalgo* is bound to his master by tighter feudal ties than the ordinary vassal; in the event of breach of faith, his lord may seize both his goods and his person, while even a serf is guaranteed the land to which he is attached. In like manner, the *maharlika* is fined for breaking his contract if he leaves his *datu*. And if the *hidalgo* can no longer shoulder the financial burden of warfare, he can ritually unmake his contract and drop down to a cheaper vassal status, that of *villano*. Something like this seems to have happened to the *maharlika* between 1590 and 1630.

THE THIRD ESTATE

An *alipin* is a man in debt to another man. His subordination is therefore obligatory, not contractual: the other man is technically his creditor rather than his lord, and may be a *maginoo*, *maharlika*, *timawa*, or another *alipin*. The *alipin* has birthright claim to work a piece of the *barangay* land which cannot be taken away from him or he from it, except in the case of a commuted death sentence by which he becomes a chattel slave. The *alipin* may be born as such—in which case he is called *gintubo*—but what he really inherits from his parents is their debt, indenture, or sentence. Although he cannot be legally seized or sold, his debt can be transferred from one creditor to another for profit and to his detriment. For this reason, a man who falls into debt seeks to become *alipin* to one of his own relatives if possible. As

a matter of fact, men in extreme penury may voluntarily seek the security of *alipin* status, that is, be *napaaalipin* as opposed to *naaalipin*. Since the degree of *alipin* indebtedness can vary, when that debt is passed on to heirs it also varies according to the mother's status, and indeed, according to the debts either parent has inherited from preceding generations. For example, if *alipin* and *timawa* marry, their offspring will be only half *alipin*; or if an *alipin* has three non-*alipin* grandparents, only one quarter,—social conditions described in Spanish accounts with the rather unsatisfactory expressions “half slave” and “quarter slave.” What all this means in practical terms is that such *alipin* only work off half their father's, or one-fourth their grandfather's, indebtedness during alternate months. Such partial *alipin*, moreover, have the right to enforce their manumission if they can afford the price.

The normal *alipin* with land rights is called *namamahay* (householder), and the one who has lost that right, *alipin sa gigilid* (hearth slave), a category which also includes those who never had such a right in the first place, namely, captives or purchases. The Boxer manuscript makes the curious remark that there is a kind of slaves of both *namamahay* and *gigilid* status called *tagalos*. If this is not a flat error, it may have been obtained from some informant of Bornean descent and thus may reflect an attitude based on a former relationship between the two peoples.

Alipin Namamahay. Spanish accounts consistently translate *alipin* as “slave,” but their authors just as consistently deplore the illogic of including the *namamahay* in the same category as the *gigilid*, or even in the category of *esclavo* at all. That the *gigilid*—or at least some *gigilid*—were chattel house slaves “like those we have,” as Morga says, was obvious, but it was just as obvious that the serf-like *namamahay* were not. One of the longest entries in the San Buenaventura dictionary belabors the point, and includes the following passage:

These *namamahay* slaves in Silanga, which is on the way to Giling-giling from Lumban, make one field called *tongo*, and it is to be noted that they have no further obligation to their master; in Pila, Bay, Pillila [Pililla] and Moron [Morong], they are almost free for they serve their master no more than from time to time, and they say he almost has to beg them to go with him to other places or to help him with something, the same as he does with the freemen; in all the hills as far as Calaylayan, they serve their master from time to time if he calls them, but if he calls them too often it's considered an abuse.

Father Plasencia solves the problem directly and sensibly: he calls them *pecheros* (tribute-payers). The *pecho* they pay is called *buwis* and amounts to half their crop, and the one who pays it is called *nunuwis*. Or his lord may agree to a fixed fee of four cavans of palay a year instead, the same rate the *datu* of Pila was charging his *maharlika* for their land use in the 1580s. In addition, he is expected to present a measure of threshed rice or a jar of wine for his master's wedding feasts or funerals, and generally a share of any special foodstuffs he may acquire for himself—for example, the leg of a deer taken in the hunt. Like everybody else, he comes at his master's call to plant and harvest his fields, build his houses, carry his cargo, equip his boat, and row it when he goes abroad—not as a warrior but as an oarsman, unless relieved of this status as an accolade for bravery—and in any emergency such as his master's being sick, captured, or flooded out. He owns his own house, possessions, and gold, and bequeaths them to his heirs, but his ownership of the land he uses is restricted: he cannot alienate it. If his master moves out of the settlement, he continues to serve him as a kind of absentee landlord, and if his master dies, he is obligated to all his heirs, and must divide his services among them. Upon his own death, his creditor has the right to take one of his children for *gigilid* domestic service in his own house, but if he takes more, he is considered a tyrant.

A man enters *namamahay* status by three routes: inheritance from *namamahay* parents, dropping down from the Second Estate, or rising up from *gigilid* status. If his debt stems from legal action or insolvency, he and his creditor agree about the duration of the bondage and an equivalent cash value for its satisfaction. In Father Plasencia's day this never exceeded ten *taels* in gold, or roughly the market value of 320 cavans of rice at Manila prices. This custom continued under the Spanish occupation and so exercised the friars' conscience that their theologians argued the fine points of its morality for a century. (How long can a man justly be indentured for such-and-such a debt? At what age does a child handed over for its father's debts become productive enough to be reckoned an asset rather than a liability?) Those who rose from the ranks of the *gigilid* hearth slaves might actually have purchased their freedom, but mainly they were transferred to *namamahay* householding when they married, simply for their master's own convenience. For this reason, it also seems likely—though the Spanish sources do not say so—that captives and purchased slaves may have been set up in *namamahay* housekeeping status from the beginning.

Alipin sa Gigilid. *Gilid* is the "innermost (or nethermost)

part of the house where the hearth is," and the use of the term to distinguish a kind of *alipin* calls attention to the typical place of their service— or, perhaps, conception. They are members of their master's household who, unlike *namamahay* householders, eat out of their master's pot. They are as dependent upon him as his own children, and from this circumstance arises his moral right to sell them. In actual practice, however, he rarely does. He may transfer them to some other creditor, but raw material for the slave trade or human sacrifice is not procured from the household, or even from the *alipin* labor pool which implements a *datu's* public and private projects. Quite the opposite, they may be rewarded at their master's pleasure—or his hope of motivating them—by being permitted to retain some of the fruits of their labor, even to the extent of eventually purchasing their liberty. Indeed, if they can accumulate enough gold, say through the trade of goldsmith or participating in raids, they can buy their way not only into *namamahay* status, but even *timawa*. (Juan Francisco de San Antonio, reporting the old thirty-peso manumission price 130 years later, comments, "And if he gave sixty or more, he was free of everything and became an *hidalgo*.")

The main sources of *alipin sa gigilid* recruitment are the children born in their master's house, not infrequently natural children by his own *alipin* of either status, and those of men under commuted death sentence who mortgage one of their own to somebody who can afford to raise them, thus preserving their own liberty to support the rest. Once a hearth slave grows up, however, it may be more practical and profitable to set him up in his own house instead of feeding and housing him and his new family. All the accounts distinguish the *namamahay* not only as having his own house separate from his master's, but as being married and having his own family. The author of the Boxer manuscript describes the situation with some surprise:

His master can sell him because none of these slaves who are in their master's house are married, but all [are] maidens and bachelors, and in the case of a male who wishes to marry, the chief does not lose him; and such a one is called *namamahay* when married, and then lives by himself, and, surprising enough, they would [even] give the slaves who were in the chiefs' houses permission to marry, and nobody would hinder the men.

The terms *gigilid* and *namamahay*, therefore, more accurately distinguish a man's residence than his economic status, and are incidental to a sliding scale of downward social mobility occa-

sioned by punitive disfranchisement and economic reversal. The condemned man's debt to society or fiscal creditor can be underwritten by some other man motivated by kin loyalty or hope of gain. If both are *alipin* and neighbors and relatives, their new relationship may be no more visible than a redistribution of their labor. But the social stigma is considerable, for the *gigilid* of a *namamahay* is called by the insulting term *bulisik*, "vile" or "despicable." Still worse, the poor wretch who becomes the *gigilid* of a *gigilid* of a *namamahay* is branded *bulisli*, "exposed," like the private parts when one's dress is hitched up—a term which may reflect a relationship between master and slave.

Slaves purchased from outside the community, and captives taken in war or raids, are also counted among the *gigilid* and may be real chattel without even the security of the parental affection of some master in whose house they grew up. If they are destined for resale or sacrifice, they may be temporarily employed—as field hands, for example—but will literally be non-persons in society. But if they are brought into the community as functioning *alipin*, they will perforce enjoy the rights of food, shelter, and work of other *alipin*. Their children will then be born into society not as aliens but as *gintubo*, "children of *alipin*," and as such be eligible for whatever upward social mobility fortune may offer them.

The categories of *namamahay* and *gigilid* thus appear to have been dysfunctional at the time they were first described by Spanish observers. If a man raised a *gigilid* slave to manhood, married him off as a *namamahay* householder, and then seized one of his children to raise as a *gigilid* slave, what was that child's status on reaching maturity? Do these categories distinguish membership in ascribed subclasses, or simply conditions of residence? The categories as described would be fully functional only in a society in which real slavery was limited to domestic service and slaves therefore lived in their masters' houses, and men were born *alipin* but not *alipin namamahay* or *alipin sa gigilid*. *Gintubo*, the birthright status of such *alipin* commoners, would then serve to distinguish the operative core of the class from social transients or newcomers who had not yet learned their role. But if such a society underwent economic changes which either increased the value of slave labor or restricted slaveholders' other sources of income, strong motivation for modifications would arise. That such changes were taking place in the 1590's but being resisted, is suggested by the following passage from the Boxer manuscript:

If they have many children, when many have been taken and he takes more, they consider it a tyrannical abuse, and once those who are leaving the chief's house to marry leave, they do not return to render him any more service than the *namamahay* do, unless he uses force, and this they consider a worse tyranny inasmuch as they were given permission to leave his house and he makes them return to it; and these slaves inherited these customs from their ancestors.

This confusion of *alipin* status was brought to Spanish attention by an ill-fated attempt to replace Filipino concepts of slavery with Christian concepts of slavery. Most contemporary sources attribute the confusion to a combination of Filipino cupidity and Spanish ignorance, the former using the latter for their own purposes. Typical is the following entry in the San Buenaventura dictionary:

Gintubo [slavery] inherited from one to another; this is the first kind of slaves. *Nagkakagintubo*: slaves of this kind. *Gintubo ni ama*: "My father inherited it"; this the Filipinos say before the judges, and those who do not know the significance of the word judge the slaves to be *sagigilid*, so it should be noted that under this name, *gintubo*, the two kinds which follow [viz., *gigilid* and *namamahay*] are covered, and they should not say that *gintubo* is *sa gigilid* since it also includes the *namamahay*.

Despite such well-intended erudition, however, the confusion was profound enough to survive into the twentieth century, long after the *alipin* who caused it had disappeared. The 1972 Pangniban *Diksyunario-Tesouro Pilipino-Ingles* defines *gintubo* as "a slave born in the house of the master," but considers it synonymous with *anak ng alipin*.

VISAYAS

Both Loarca and the author of the Boxer manuscript record a Visayan cosmogony which divides mankind into five types or species: *datus*, *timawas*, *oripun*, negroes, and overseas aliens. The myth presents them all as offspring of a divine primordial pair who flee or hide from their father's wrath. According to the Boxer version:

They scattered where best they could, many going out of their fathers' house; and others stayed in the main sala, and

others hid in the walls of the house itself, and others went into the kitchen and hid among the pots and stove. So, these Visayans say, from these who went into the inner rooms of the house come the lords and chiefs they have among them now, who give them orders and whom they respect and obey and who among them are like our titled lords in Spain; they call them *datos* in their language. From those who remained in the main sala of the house come the knights and *hidalgos* among them, inasmuch as these are free and do not pay anything at all; these they call *timaguas* in their language. From those who got behind the walls of the house, they say, come those considered slaves, whom they call *oripes* in their language. Those who went into the kitchen and hid in the stove and among the pots they say are the negroes, claiming that all the negroes there are in the hills of the Philippine Islands of the West come from them. And from the others who went out of the house, they say, come all the other tribes there are in the world, saying that these were many and that they went to many and diverse places.

The details of the myth are revealing of Filipino views of their own social hierarchy: class distinctions are presented as being of the same order as racial differences. The ruling class is secluded and protected in the inner security of the house—"lo más escondido de la casa," Loarca says—with their privileged *timawa* retinue standing between them and the world in the front sala—"más afuera"—and their more timid *oripun* supporters occupying the very walls of the house. And, completely beyond the pale of Philippine society, are the soot-colored negroes of the hills, and such literally outlandish races as the Spaniards themselves, descendants of those who "left by the same door through which their father had entered, and went toward the sea." Equally significant is something the myth does not say: it fails to distinguish the rice- and cotton-producing Filipinos of the uplands from those along the coast who supply them with salt, fish, and imported trade porcelains.

Sixteenth century Visayans therefore saw themselves as divided into three divinely sanctioned orders: *datu*, *timawa*, and *oripun*. The word *datu* is used as both a social class and a political title: the class is a birthright aristocracy or royalty careful to preserve its pedigree, and the office is the captaincy of a band of warrior supporters bound by voluntary oath of allegiance and entitled to defense and revenge at their captain's personal risk. These supporters are *timawa*, and they are not only their *datu's* comrades-at-arms and personal bodyguards, tasting his wine for poison before

he or any other *datu* drinks it, but usually his own relatives or even his natural sons. Everybody else is *oripun*. They support *timawa* and *datu* alike with obligatory agricultural and industrial labor, or its equivalence in rice. When the Spaniards reached Cebu, they found the subordination of the *oripun* to the other two orders so obvious and the distinction between *datu* and *timawa* so slight, that they did not at first recognize the existence of three orders. Legazpi, after three busy years of conquering, cajoling and coopting them, thought there were only two orders of Pintados: rulers and ruled. And a half century later, old Samareños recalled the *timawa* as a lower order of *datus*, and even an extinct class in between called *tumao*.

THE FIRST ORDER

Members of the *datu* class enjoy ascribed right to respect, obedience, and support from their *oripun* followers and acquired right to the same advantages from their legal *timawa*. In theory at least, they can dispose of their followers' persons, houses, and property, and do in fact take possession of them at their death. Land use and disposition are not mentioned in any of the accounts, presumably because Visayan sustenance comes exclusively from swiddens, forests, or the sea. Since the sons of a ruling *datu* have equal claim to succession, competition is keen among them, and official *datu* wives practice abortion to limit such divisive possibilities to only two or three offspring. Significantly, a myth recorded by Loarca attributes the invention of weapons and introduction of warfare to a quarrel over inheritance. In fact, it is normal for a *datu's* brother to separate from him and form another settlement with a following of his own. To maintain the purity of their line, *datus* marry only among their kind, often seeking high-ranking brides in other communities, abducting them, or contracting brideprices running to five or six hundred pesos in gold, slaves, and jewelry. Meanwhile they keep their own marriageable daughters secluded as *binokot*, literally, "wrapped up." Social distance is maintained by such deference as addressing them in the third person, keeping off the noisy bamboo-slatted floor while they are sleeping, or the strict observance of their mourning taboos by the whole community. Furthermore, competition from bold and wealthy kin is discouraged by such protocol sanctions as restricting the size and ostentation of their houses.

Datus of pure descent (for example, *potli nga datu* or *tubas nga datu*, or the four-generation *lubus nga datu*) also recognize another lineage of lesser nobility called *tumao*. Literally, *tumao* means "to be a man," that is, without taint of slavery, servitude, or witch-

craft. These are the descendants of other or former *datus*, or of an immigrating *datu's* original comrades, or the kin of a prominent local ruler—"señor y dueño del pueblo". From this *tumao* rank come a ruling *datu's* personal officers, such as his *Atobang sa Datu* (Prime Minister), and from their sons come a corps of *Sandig sa Datu* ("Supporters of the Datu"), though after fifty years of Spanish occupation both the titles and offices had disappeared. *Datus* also maintain *sandil* concubines, some of them *binokot* "princesses" of high rank captured in raids who bear them illegitimate offspring with no inheritance rights beyond their father's favors while alive, but who are usually set free upon his death. These are the *timawa*, whom the origin myth considers a separate order of men, but whose descendants were fondly respected as a third grade of the first order long after colonial rule had rendered all such distinctions meaningless. Those *timawa* who are released on their father's death—slaves freed from above, so to speak—are called by the special title, *gínoo*. By Alcina's day, however, the term *timawa* alone survived as a designation for the ordinary Visayan tribute-payer who was neither chief nor slave, while *gínoo* took on the general Tagalog significance of "sir" because of Manila's new prestige as the colonial capital.

Datu's Duties and Functions. The following which a *datu* rules is his *sakop*, *haop*, or *dolohan*—what is elsewhere called a barrio or *barangay*, and what Alcina translates as "gathering" or "kin" (i.e., *junta*, *congregación*, or *parentela*). The office or estate of *datuship* is therefore a *ginaopan* or *gindolohanan*. The visible house cluster of such a group is commonly called a *gamoro*, but like two other terms for village or settlement, *lonsor* and *bongto*, the word originally referred to a collection of people, not houses. The Boxer manuscript states that such followers obey their *datus* because "most of them are their slaves, and those in the settlement who are not are the relatives of the *datus*." In the event of a *datu's* capture in war, these relatives contribute to his ransom in proportion to the closeness of their kinship. Some *datus* can raise fighting forces of between 500 and 1,000 men-at-arms, either through confederation with other *datus*, or by actual overlordship (*señorío*). Si Dumager of Langigey, Bantayan, for example, imposed a 20 percent inheritance tax on slaves and other property after such a conquest, a form of servitude (*esclavonía*) which, Loarca reports, "is still being introduced among all the Filipinos along the coast, though not the uplanders." If any of these super-baranganic chieftains were ever dignified with the title of *hadi* (king), none of the accounts record it. Quite the opposite, Alcina comments scornfully of a legendary Visayan hero named Bohato: "He conquered so many 'kings,' as they are wont to call them around here, who were

nothing more than some gang leaders not even deserving the name of captain."

A ruling *datu* has the duty to execute judicial decisions handed down by experts in custom law, which execution among his peers is likely to institute a family feud. All crimes are punishable by fines, even murder, adultery, and insubordination to *datus*, though these latter three are technically capital offenses commuted on appeal to enslavement or servitude which is both negotiable and transferable to kin and offspring. Petty larceny (reckoned at less than ₱20) and other civil offenses are not transferable except that children born during the period of bondage become the property of the creditor. Grand larceny, however, is a capital offense, and *datus* themselves are liable to prosecution—though, of course, they can afford the fines or wergeld necessary to avoid slavery in any case. Where a *datu's* own honor or interests are involved, he acts both as judge and executioner, and may abuse this position to procure additional indentured or slave labor by outright perversion of justice.

The *datu's* main function is to lead in war. Warfare—*mangubat* in general, *mangayaw* by sea, and *magahat* by land—appears as endemic in all the accounts. It takes the form of raiding, trading, or a combination of both, and is terminated or interrupted by blood compacts between individuals or whole *gamoros*. Slaving is so common everybody knows the proper behavior patterns. A captured *datu* is treated with respect and his ransom underwritten by some benefactor who will realize a 100 percent profit on the investment. Men who surrender may not be killed, and the weak and effeminate are handled gently; a *timawa* who kills a captive already seized must reimburse his *datu*. A commanding *datu* rewards his crewmen at his own discretion, but otherwise has full rights to profit and booty. In the event of a combined fleet, the *datu* who provides the predeparture sacrifices to ancestral spirits and war deities receives half the total take. Visayan men-of-war are highly refined specimens of marine architecture which call for considerable capital investment to construct, outfit, and operate, and are launched over the bodies of slave victims. If a silent partner invests in such a venture, he receives half the profits but no interest on his capital. And, in recognition of the risks involved, he must ransom his active partner in the event of capture, without claim to reimbursement or return on his original investment.

Datu's Commercial Interests. The Loarca account is full of indirect testimony to a *datu's* commercial interests. Coastal Visayans barter cotton from uplanders for marine products and Chi-

nese porcelains, and *datus* let out cotton in the boll to the wives of their *oripun* to return as spun thread. It will be recalled that medieval Chinese accounts list cotton and porcelain as exchange goods in their Philippine trade, which was conducted from deep-draft, sea-going junks anchored off shores whose natives handled local collection and distribution. It may also be recalled that when Magellan opened a store in Cebu, his customers paid for their purchases with gold weighed out in scales carried for the purpose, as Igorots in the Baguio mine fields were still doing three centuries later. Many social customs appear to favor the pursuit of business, too. Although betrayal of visitors from allied communities is a just cause for war, outstanding debts can be collected by force in such settlements without danger of war simply by seizing the sum from any of the debtor's townmates, who will then be entitled to collect twice the amount from the debtor himself. And in contrast to loans of palay, which carry an interest rate of 100 percent compounded annually, cash (i.e., gold) is loaned out with no interest; rather, it is an investment from which the lender gets a percentage of the profits it earns. Indeed, it is just possible that Loarca gives a hint of a new form of usury which arose in direct response to his own *encomendero* presence: "Nowadays, some loafers who do not feel like looking around for their tribute to pay, ask to borrow it and return a bit more."

THE SECOND ORDER

The *timawa* are personal vassals of a *datu* to whom they bind themselves as seafaring warriors; they pay no tribute, render no agricultural labor, and have a portion of *datu* blood in their veins. Thus the Boxer manuscript calls them "knights and *hidalgos*," Loarca, "free men, neither chiefs nor slaves," and Alcina, "the third rank of nobility" (*nobleza*). Although a first-generation *timawa* is literally the half-slave of some *datu* sire, once he achieves *ginoo* status through liberation, he is free to move to any settlement whose lord is willing to enter into feudal relations with him. Such contracts call for the *timawa* to outfit himself for war at his own expense, row and fight his *datu's* warship, attend all his feasts, and act as his wine-taster; and for the *datu* to defend and avenge the *timawa* wherever he may have need, risking his person, family, and fortune to do so, even to the extent of taking action against his own kin. The *timawa* are his comrades-at-arms in his forays and share the same risks under fire, but they are clearly his subordinates: they have no right to booty beyond what he gives them, and they are chided for battle damage to his vessel but not held liable. But as his comrades-at-arms, they share in the public

accolade of a society which esteems military prowess so highly that women are courted with lyrics like, "You plunder and capture with your eyes; with a mere glance, you lay hold on more than *mangayaw*-raiders do with their fleets."

The *timawas*' relations with their *datus* are highly personal. When they attend his feasts and act as wine-tasters, they are there as his retinue and familiars—"out front in the main sala," as the creation myth puts it. If they are not their *datus*' actual relatives, they behave like relatives: they are sent as emissaries when he opens marriage negotiations for his son, and they enjoy the same legal rights in prosecuting adultery. They are men of consequence in the community and may be appointed stewards over a *datu*'s interests. At the time of his death, the most prominent among them acts as major domo to enforce his funeral taboos, and three of their most renowned warriors accompany his grieving women-folk on a ritual voyage during which they row in time to dirges which boast of their personal conquests and feats of bravery. But they are not men of substance. Although they may lend and borrow money or even make business partnerships, their children, like everybody else in the community, inherit only at their *datu*'s pleasure. As Loarca says in speaking of weddings, "The *timawas* do not perform these ceremonies because they have no estate (*hacienda*)."

The Timawa's Distinct Role. Since both *datu* and *timawa* are what would be called non-productive members of society in Marxist terms, they form a single class in the economic sense, just as Legazpi thought they did. But in the Visayan body politic, the *timawa* serve a separate and distinct function: they are the means by which the *datus* consolidate their authority and expand their power. By limiting their own birthrate, monopolizing advantageous marriages, and controlling inheritance, they preserve their authority; and by producing a brood of warrior dependents tied to them by both moral and economic bonds, they provide themselves with a military support whose loyalty can be expected and competition suppressed. Such social specialization would serve a trade-raiding society well, and may have been doing so for centuries before the Spaniards arrived. Medieval Chinese merchantmen avoided Visayan waters because of the notoriety of their slavers, and Chinese records indicate that Visayan raids were not unknown on the coasts of China itself. But the *timawa* role was destined not to survive serious modification of this economy. *Datus* with control of cotton-spinning underlings, or irrigated rice lands to apportion their followers, would have less need for such Viking services. And whatever needs remained would quickly be disoriented, deflected, and destroyed by occupa-

tion by a superior military power. The history of the word *timawa* suggests that just such changes took place in the Philippines in the sixteenth century.

When the Spaniards first met the *timawa* in the Visayas, they were the *hidalgo*-like warriors Loarca describes. But in fertile wet-rice lands around Laguna de Bay and the Candaba swamps, they were found to be "plebeians" and "common people," farming rather than fighting. As Plasencia says of them in Pampanga, "Every chief who holds a *barangay* orders the people to plant, and has them come together for sowing and harvesting." Their former military functions were now being performed by another order with the elegant name of *Maharlika* ("great, noble") who were probably the genetic overflow of the aristocracy which occupied, or arose in, the Laguna lake district earlier in the century. By 1580, however, many of these "noblemen" found themselves reduced to leasing land from their *datus*. By the end of the century, any claim to Filipino royalty, nobility, or *hidalguía* had disappeared into a homogenized *principalia*, and the word *timawa* had become the standard term to distinguish all other Filipinos from slaves. Thus did the King himself use it in his instructions to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1589, as well as the Archbishop of Manila in promulgating a graduated scale of stole fees in 1626. And in Panay, meanwhile, regardless of whatever changes had already affected the *timawa* calling, Loarca was helping to make it completely dysfunctional by the exercise of foreign military power. As former warriors had to seek their living by other means, he found it necessary to describe their order not simply as *timawa* but as "true" *timawa* or "recognized" *timawa*, as if there were counterfeit versions around. If there were, they would have been victims of the inflation which led to the term's final debasement in the modern Visayan word, which means "poor, destitute."

THE THIRD ORDER

Oripun are commoners in the technical sense of the word, that is, they cannot marry people of royal blood (*datus*) and are under obligation to serve and support the aristocracy of the First Order and the privileged retainers of the Second. They are under this obligation not because they are in debt, but because it is the normal order of society for them to be so; it is the way mankind was created. Their usual service is agricultural labor, and a distinctive characteristic of the upper two orders of society is that *datus* and *timawas* do not perform agricultural labor. Within this limitation, however, members of the Third Order vary in economic status

and social standing, from men of consequence (who may actually win *datu* status through repute in battle), to chattel slaves born into their condition in their master's house generation after generation. And at the very bottom of the social scale, the *oripun* technically include—if for other reason than that there is no place else to assign them—those non-persons destined to join some deceased warlord in the grave, along with Chinese porcelains and gold ornaments.

The class of *oripun* is common to all the Visayan accounts, but the particular subclasses which reflect the socio-economic variations within it differ considerably. The differences are not merely in terminology, as would be expected from Samar to Mindanao, but in actual specifications. In the most favored condition, for example, are Loarca's *tumataban* and *tumaranpok*, the Boxer manuscript's *horo-hanes*, and Alcina's *gintobo* or *mamahay*, all of whom can commute their agricultural duties into other forms of service such as rowing or fighting or actual payments in kind. Loarca's *ayuey* ("the most enslaved of all") only serve in their master's house three days out of four, and in the Boxer manuscript (which spells it *hayoheyes*) they move into their own house upon marriage and become *tuheyes* who do not even continue further service if they produce enough offspring. Plasencia's "whole slaves," however—for example the four-generation *lubus nga oripun*—hand over the whole fruits of their labor. This is a stricture which may be the result of social breakdown under colonial domination, since a characteristic of Philippine slavery otherwise universally reported is the theoretical possibility of manumission through self-improvement. These variations no doubt illustrate different economic conditions, crops, markets, and demands for labor, as well as individual *datus'* responses to them. They also illustrate a social mobility which ultimately embraces all three social orders.

Condition of Higher Subclasses. *Oripun* are born into the Third Order just as *datus* and *timawa* are born into the other two. But their position within the order depends upon inherited or acquired debt, commuted criminal sentences, or victimization by the more powerful—in which latter case they are said to be *lopot*, "marked, creased," or, as Alcina puts it, "unjustly enslaved." Those in serious need may mortgage themselves to some *datu* for a loan, becoming *kabalangay* ("boat-mates"?), or may attach themselves to a kinsman as bondsman, but debts can also be underwritten by anybody able and willing to do so. The *tumataban*, for example, whom Loarca calls "the most respected" commoners, can be bonded for six pesos, their creditor then enjoying five days of their labor per month. The status of *tumaranpok*, on the other

hand, is reckoned at twelve pesos, for which four days' labor out of seven is rendered. Both of these *oripun* occupy their own houses and maintain their own families, but their wives are also obligated to perform services if they already have children, namely, spinning and weaving cotton which their master supplies in the boll, one skein a month in the case of the *tumataban*, and a half month's labor in the case of the *tumaranpok*. Either can commute these obligations to payment in palay: fifteen cavans a year for the former, thirty for the latter. Thus a *tumataban's* release from field labor is calculated at five gantas a day and a *tumaranpok's* at three and a half. So, too, the creditor who underwrites a ₱12 *tumaranpok* debt receives 208 days of labor a year, but one who invests in a ₱6 *tumataban*, only 72. Since Loarca states that rice is produced in the hills in exchange for coastal products, such commutation enables an uplander to discharge his obligations without coming down to till his master's fields. A coast dweller, on the other hand, has to be a man of considerable means to assume such a tribute-paying *pechero* role.

Another *oripun* condition is that of *horo-han* (probably *uluhan*, "at the head"). These perform lower-echelon military service in lieu of field labor, acting as *mangayaw* oarsmen or *magahat* "foot-soldiers" and their children take their place upon their death (but have no obligation prior to it). They are part of the public entertained and feasted during a *datu's* ceremonial functions, where their presence moved the author of the Boxer manuscript to comment with tourist-like wonder, "They are taken into their houses when they give some feast or drunken revel to be received just like guests." The *oripun* called *gintobo*, *mamahay*, or *johai* also participate in raids, though they receive a smaller portion of the booty than *timawas*, and if they distinguish themselves regularly enough by bravery in action, they may attract a following of their own and actually become *datu's*. They are also obliged to come at their *datu's* summons for such communal work as house-building, but do not perform field labor; instead they pay *reconocimiento* (a recognition-of-vassalage fee) in rice, textiles, or other products. But, like the *timawa* above them and indentured bondsmen and slaves below, they cannot bequeath their property to their heirs: their *datu* shares it with them at his own pleasure. This arbitrary inheritance tax enables a ruling *datu* to reward and ingratiate his favorites, and leave others under threat of the sort of economic reversal which sets downward social mobility in motion. A ₱12 debt can plunge a man into the depths of *ayuey* household slavery, with the high probability of transmitting that status to his offspring since any children born during his bondage will become

the property of his master.

The Ayuey Condition. These *ayuey* are at the bottom of the *oripun* social scale. They are literally domestics who live in their master's house and receive their food and clothing from him, and they are real chattel. As Loarca says, "Those whom the natives have sold to the Spaniards are *ayuey* for the most part." They either have no property of their own or only what they can accumulate by working for themselves one day out of four. They are generally field hands with the same manumission price as the *tumaranpok*, namely, ₱12, and their wives work as domestic servants in their master's house. They are usually single, however, but are given a separate house when they marry and become *tuhey*, working only two days out of five. Their wives, however, continue to serve until they have children; then, if they have many, they and their husbands may be absolved of all further *ayuey* servitude. Their children, needless to say, do not inherit.

First-generation *ayuey* are debtors, purchases, captives, or poverty-stricken volunteers seeking security. Those who are enslaved in lieu of payment of fines are called *sirrot*, which means "fine," and those seized for debts, or imputed debts, are *lupig*, "inferior, outclassed." Creditors are responsible for their debtors' obligations, so another route by which commoners are reduced to *ayuey* status is for their creditors to cover some fine they have incurred. Purchases may be outright—for example, either adults or children in abject penury—or by buying off somebody's debt, in which case the debtor becomes *gintubus*, "redeemed." Actual captives are *bihag*, whether slave or not at the time of capture, and are sharply to be distinguished from all other *ayuey* because of their liability to serve as offerings in some human sacrifice. (Loarca notes approvingly, "They always see that this slave is an alien and not a native, for they really are not cruel at all.") It is not impossible that Spanish disruption of traditional slaving patterns produced an increase in domestic oppression on the part of those *datus* who were called *principales*. At least Alcina comments, "They oppressed the poor and helpless and those who did not resist, even to the point of making them and their children slaves, [but] those who showed them their fangs and claws and resisted were let go with as much as they wished to take because they were afraid of them." But, in any event and whatever their origin, first-generation *ayuey* all have one thing in common: they are the parents of the second-generation "true" slaves.

The "true" slaves, as distinguished from those commoners of varying degrees of servitude who are slaves in name only (*nomine tenus*, as Alcina says) are those born in their master's house. The children of purchased or hereditary slaves are called *haishai*.

If both their parents are houseborn slaves like themselves, or purchased, they are *ginlubus* (from *lubus*, "all one color, unvariegated"), and if they are the fourth generation of their kind, *lubus nga oripun*. But if only one of their parents is an *ayuey* of their status, they are "half slaves" (*bulan* or *pikas*) and if three of their grandparents were non-slave commoners, they are "one-quarter slaves" (*tilor* or *sagipat*). "Whole slaves" may also be known as *bug-us* ("given totally") or *tuman* ("utmost, extreme"). But some of them are cherished and raised like their master's own children, often being permitted to reside in their own houses and usually being set free on their master's death; these are the *silin* or *ginogatan*. Thus there is no given word for "slave," but only a graduated series of terms running from the totally chattel *bihag* to the *horo-han* commoner "at the head" in the upper level of the *oripun* order. And the initial step up this social ladder is the normal expectation of the houseborn *ayuey* at the bottom, for when his master marries him off to another houseborn *ayuey*, he is set up in his house where he and his wife serve both masters. When his children are born, they become slaves to both masters, too, but as soon as they grow up, he himself assumes *tumaranpok* status. Thus as Visayan house slaves move upward into the dignity of vassalage, they leave enough of their offspring behind to supply their masters' needs.

CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century Spanish accounts say that Filipino society is divided into three classes, to which they assign the European feudal concepts of rulers, military supporters, and everybody else. This having been said, they proceed to give information which indicates that this three-class analysis is inadequate for an understanding of the society being described. On the one hand, in economic terms, the three classes appear to be only two. In Loarca's Visayas, for example, the upper two classes live off food and export products produced by the third class, while in the Tagalog areas reported by Morga and Plasencia, the lower two classes work the fields of the upper. On the other hand, in social terms, the indigenous class designations are not readily reduced to three, and, worse yet, seem to shade off into one another confusingly. This confusion probably arises not so much from an inadequacy in the Spanish descriptions as from the basic fallacy of originally expecting to find three—or any other number—of static pan-Philippine social classes. What might more logically be expected would be the description of a society, or societies, observed in the process of change, that is, of class structures caught in the

midst of ongoing development and decay, so to speak. Such an expectation can be readily fulfilled by a reconsideration of the accounts.

VISAYAN CULTURE

Of the two cultures described, Visayan and Tagalog, the former appears to be the more basic and stable—not stable in the sense of unchanging, but in the sense of being flexible enough to absorb such changes as confront it. This flexibility is provided at both top and bottom of the social scale. At the one end, a chief can retain and restrain competing peers, relatives, and offspring if he has the personality and economic means for it; but if not, they can migrate to other communities that can use their services, or found new ones of their own. At the other end, the owners of chattel slaves can demand their and their children's services if they have need of them, but are not obligated to do so. The political units of this society are small—less than 1,000 persons at most—and are potentially hostile to one another unless related by blood, intermarriage, trading partnerships, or subjugation through conquest. Weaponry is too unsophisticated to be monopolized by individuals, so political power is exercised through client-patron relationship. The economy is based on products from swiddens, forests, and the sea, and their redistribution through a pattern of trade-raids which make public protection necessary. Chiefs fulfill this function by means of specialized warships designed for speed, maneuverability, and operation in shallow, reef-filled waters, but with limited cargo capacity. These are the conditions to which Visayan social structure is fitted, as those of Mindanao and Luzon probably were in their day, too.

The chief of a Visayan community is called a *datu*, and the social class to which he belongs is called by the same term. A lesser aristocracy descended from former or subordinate *datu*s is called *tumao* and provides the *datu*'s officers, retinue, and bodyguard. Descendants of a *datu*'s illegitimate offspring are called *timawa* and constitute a warrior class whose members may attach themselves to a *datu* of their choice. These three social classes form an economic upper class supported by the labor of a lower class called *oripun* who are born, impressed, or sold into their class. A variety of statuses or subclasses have been generated among them by a society's particular needs for labor or crops, and differences of personal debt. Most members of this class live at such a low subsistence level that debt is a normal condition of their lives: it arises from outright loans for sustenance or from inability to pay fines, and its degree determines individual *oripun* rank.

Among these subclasses are the following:

Ayuey: a domestic slave or bondsman whose offspring are the property of his master.

Bihag: a captive.

Ginlubus: the child of two domestic slaves, born in their master's house.

Ginogatan: a cherished household slave favored with separate quarters and usually liberated upon his master's death.

Gintobo: an *oripun* who performs military service and also pays a vassalage fee in kind.

Gintubus: any *oripun* whose debt has been underwritten by another man.

Haishai: the child of a purchased or hereditary slave.

Horo-han: a high-status servitude of military service in lieu of field labor, but passed on to the next generation.

Lupig: any *oripun* seized for debt.

Sirot: any *oripun* whose status results from an unpaid fine.

Tuey: a married *ayuey* set up in housekeeping by his master; he normally becomes a *tumaranpok* when his children are old enough to replace him.

Tumaranpok and *tumataban*: two grades of servitude requiring specified kinds and periods of labor from both man and wife; the first is reckoned at twice the second in terms of debt or tribute if labor is commuted to payment in kind.

LUZON CULTURE

Luzon culture in the time of Morga and Plasencia differed from the Visayan in at least three particulars: it enjoyed more extensive commerce, it had been influenced by Bornean political contacts, and it lived off wet rice. Spanish records of the first generation of the Conquest consistently refer to Tagalog business interests as exceeding those of the Visayans, which, on the testimony of tribute-collector Loarca, were hardly undeveloped. Augustinian Fray Martín de Rada attributed the absence of human sacrifice in the Manila area to the fact that Tagalogs were "more traders than warriors," and Legazpi found Philippine internal trade dominated—or monopolized—by ships from Borneo and Luzon, which the Visayans called "Chinese" because of the origin of their wares. Manila itself had probably been founded early in the century by adventuresome Nakhoda Ragam Sultan Bulkeiah of Brunei, who also counts as the fourth Sultan of Sulu. Rice was grown under controlled irrigation in Pampanga, and in such deep water along the shores of Laguna de Bay that it was harvested from boats; the San Buenaventura dictionary lists thirteen terms for rice and

six for "transplant," and gives a detailed description of the process. This last consideration alone would be enough to account for three **constant** references in the descriptions of Tagalog social structure missing from the Visayan accounts: those to land use, inheritance, and universal field labor.

COMPARING VISAYAN AND TAGALOG CULTURES

Tagalog material culture is therefore more developed than the Visayan, and its social structure is accordingly more complex and less stable, that is, it is in a process of differentiating because of inability to absorb the changes confronting it. Any attempt to equate it with the basic "three-class" Visayan social system is therefore probably unrealistic. Such an attempt was made by Jesuit Francisco Colín in the middle of the seventeenth century: he equated Visayan *datu* with Tagalog *maginoo*, *timawa* with *maharlika*, and *oripun* with *alipin*. However, such an equivalence would require, in the first place, that the Visayan *timawa* become a common part of the Tagalog vocabulary in just twenty years. This is possible; but it is less possible than that Plasencia, after ten years' residence in Philippine barrios, could have committed so gross an error in his study of Pampanga law as to mistake this Visayan import for a native term. Moreover, if the Spaniards transferred the word, they transferred it to a class which did not exist in the Visayas: farmers who work their *datu's* fields, pay him no tribute, and can transfer their allegiance to another *datu*. In the second place, the terms simply are not equivalents. A man has to be born a *maginoo*, but he can become a *datu* by personal achievement. The Visayan *timawa* neither pays tribute nor performs agricultural labor, while the Tagalog *maharlika* not only works his *datu's* fields but may even pay rent on his own. And the Luzon *alipin* are divided into two sharply defined subclasses, while the Visayan *oripun* are not.

It is much easier to account for both the similarity and the dissimilarities of the two systems by presupposing a common terminology being applied to new or emerging classes resulting from economic development. *Maginoo*, for example, expands the membership of the *datu* ruling class by appeal to descent rather than office, that is, from an actual founding ancestor, if the root of *maginoo* is really *puṛò* which means "origin, trunk, stem" as well as "chief." *Datus* of this class have a privilege Visayan *datus* do not—they can call out all non-*maginoo* subjects to plant and harvest their fields, as well as to perform all sorts of other personal labor. Thus all non-*maginoo* form a common economic class in some sense, though this class has no designation, presumably be-

cause it represents so recent an expansion of *maginoo* authority. This subject class may then be divided into two subclasses according to whether their members are in debt or not. Those who are, are *alipin*, and those who are not are *timawa* and *maharlika*.

The *timawa* warrior class of old has now disappeared, probably due to decreased need for their service, and the term is being applied instead to former *alipin* who have escaped bondage by payment, favor, or flight—but not, like Visayan *oripun*, by military prominence. The *maharlika* are a birthright warrior class found only in Laguna whose ancestors were probably associated with Bornean influence or intrusion; they are, in increasing numbers, coming to rent land from their *datus*. The *alipin*, too, are divided into two subgroups. If, unlike their *oripun* counterparts, they have rights of usufruct to irrigated land, they are called *namamahay* and may be either renters or sharecroppers; but if they are domestic slaves or bondsmen without such rights, they are called *alipin sa gigilid* and, unlike Visayan *ayuey*, constitute an actual caste in defiance of the social mobility which is characteristic of Philippine class structure. And if *alipin* are removed from a barangay by purchase, donation, or bequest, their *datu* loses their labor without compensation—but they cannot be removed from the *bayan*, a circumstance which would favor the growth of political centralization.

All these details which distinguish Tagalog from Visayan social structure would appear to reflect an intensification of agricultural production, a decrease in slave-raiding activities, and an increase in the power of the ruling class. And, in retrospect, consideration of the details which portray the societies themselves would appear to present, in a single century, cameo versions of those stages through which the economic determinist usually pursues the course of human history across three millenia.

Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines

The term "hispanization" was used by historian John Leddy Phelan to refer to the process by which profound changes were made in the socioeconomic life styles of the Filipino people during the Spanish occupation of their archipelago. The term has been rejected by some on the not unreasonable grounds that the end products of this process were neither Spaniards nor hispanic but remained uniquely and distinctly Filipino. Be that as it may, the term is a useful one for the social scientist if for no other reason than that it distinguishes a condition which did not exist before the Spaniards arrived and never existed in areas where they did not govern. The indigenous Filipino cultures in these latter areas did not, of course, remain static during the three centuries of Spanish domination elsewhere, nor were they completely isolated from or unaffected by what was happening to their neighbors. Yet they were never absorbed into that Christianized, tribute-paying society which resulted from whatever hispanization did take place, and as such, may meaningfully be called "unhispanized." It is class structure in such of these unhispanized areas as survived into the twentieth century which is the subject of the study whose summary conclusions are presented here.

The sources for the study are of three kinds. First are a dozen full-fledged ethnographic studies of unhispanized cultures in the mountains of Mindanao and northern Luzon between 1905 and 1940, which may be considered primary sources, as well as several

The author acknowledges with gratitude a grant from the Social Science Research Council, New York, which made possible the research on which this paper is based, as well as a companion piece, "Filipino Class Structure in the 16th Century" (Third World Studies Paper 13, Diliman 1978). The research project itself had the interest and encouragement of Fr. Frank Lynch from its inception, and an earlier version of the present paper, in fact, was scheduled for discussion with him the day after his sudden death. It is therefore some slight solace to be able to contribute to this memorial volume in his honor (*Philippine Studies* 27 [1979]: 137-59) a small token of my respect and affection for the man as scholar, priest, and friend, and to acknowledge my debt to him for many favors granted both in the academic world and elsewhere.

minor ones, and another dozen produced since World War II in Mindoro, Palawan, Basilan, and Jolo, as well as Luzon and Mindanao. Secondary sources are shorter studies, articles, or notices between 1880 and 1975 which contain data valuable for one of two different purposes: either to substitute for more serious studies where these are lacking, or to correct and amplify material in the first category. The third are my own studies, empirical observations, and familiarity with field research since 1954 on the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon, and interviews in the southern Philippines during 1977-1978 with field workers and social scientists who were themselves members of cultures being investigated. In large part, the methodology employed made use of these three categories in sequence—that is, the basic research was done in the primary sources, extended or refined by study of the secondary sources, and then assessed and organized by recourse to the third.

Even a cursory glance at this literature makes it obvious that all Filipinos living in the unhispanized Philippines do not share one and the same social structure, and probably never did. Some are fishermen, some are farmers, and others are hunters and gatherers of forest products. Some live in mountainside swiddens, some on houseboats, and others in coastal ports so commercially developed they collected harbor fees. Some are economically self-sufficient, while others live in symbiotic relations with neighboring societies that produce different foodstuffs. These ecological factors alone would preclude any single class structure for all. Food-gatherers wandering through the woods in bands of ten or twenty persons are not likely to develop any significant social stratification, nor, on the other hand, are terrace-builders who can monopolize food production likely to remain egalitarian. Complete perusal of the same literature, moreover, indicates that there are not as many kinds of social structures as there are ethnolinguistically distinct societies. It is therefore neither necessary nor desirable to describe each one of them in turn, but rather by types or categories, each type representing a particular class structure. The criterion for making these divisions will be their own perception of social classes as reflected in their languages, classifying them according to the functions of the upper or dominating class, where such a class is distinguished. There is historic precedent for classifying societies according to their forms of government, and it is appropriate to do so in the present case since all the unhispanized societies themselves define the dominating class—if any—more sharply than any other classes which may exist or be thought to exist.

Four types will be distinguished, and they will be described in

what anthropologists call the ethnographic present. That is, they will be described, insofar as practicable, as they existed in their functional heyday at the close of the Spanish regime, but in the present tense. This procedure not only avoids the stylistic monstrosities of contending present, past, present perfect, and pluperfect tenses, but makes possible the recognition of class structures or behavior patterns which may have outlived their functions or even survived into the present decade in modern guise. The four categories are as follows:

1. Classless societies—societies with no terms which distinguish one social class from another;
2. Warrior societies—societies with a recognized class distinguished by prowess in battle;
3. Petty plutocracies—societies with a recognized class characterized by inherited real property; and
4. Principalities—societies with a recognized ruling class with inherited rights to assume political office, or exercise central authority.

TYPE 1: CLASSLESS SOCIETIES

Societies in the first category are characterized as "classless" because they distinguish no class or group which exerts authority or advantage over other classes or groups by virtue of ascribed or acclaimed status. Typical are the Hanunoo of whom Harold C. Conklin has written that their society is "bilaterally structured, loosely stratified, and predominantly egalitarian...[with] no formally recognized or titled leaders even of a jural sort, no chiefs, no headmen, and no servants" (*Hanunóo Agriculture in the Philippines* [Rome: United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, 1957], p. 11), or the Ilongots of whose social structure Renato Rosaldo could write a whole dissertation without even mentioning the subject of chiefs or leaders. In addition to other groups of Mangyans in the mountains of Mindoro and the Ilongots of Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela, this category includes the Tiruray of Cotabato, the Sulod of Panay, the Bataks of Palawan, and the Negrito or darker-skinned peoples of Luzon, Negros, Panay, and Mindanao who are called Agta, Aeta, and Ati in some places, Dumagat along the eastern and southeastern coasts of Luzon, Magahat in Negros Oriental, and Mamanua in the interior highlands of Mindanao. Also to be included in this category are non-Negroid mountaineers called Bukidnon in Negros about whom data are insufficient to make a description, the Katalangan "Kalingas" of Isabela whose traditional social struc-

ture has been eclipsed by that of their Ibanag-Ilocano neighbors, and, presumably, the Ikalahan of Nueva Vizcaya who are reported to have a completely egalitarian society despite the presence of terms for rich men and servants or slaves. All of these societies either farm swiddens or hunt and gather forest products for their sustenance—or, in the case of some of the Dumagats, live off fish and turtles. They normally function in groups of around fifty members on the average: the Magahats have been reported to have groups as small as three persons, the Hanunoo and Sulod as living typically in five or six household settlements, the Baler Negritos as moving about in bands of ten families or so, and both the Bataks and Ilongots as living in groups of from five to fifteen households.

Like all societies, these have three minimal needs for leadership in decision-making situations—two in the ordinary course of events and a third when occasion arises. The first is the settlement of personal disputes and the prevention or punishment of crimes to maintain the internal security and unity of the group, and the second is the organization of economic activities calling for a larger labor force than can be mustered by one family. The third is dealing with outside groups when contacts require it.

Juridical decisions are made either by the eldest male in the group, or an old man whose reputation for wisdom attracts disputants to his authority. He is generally a specialist in customary law, but knowledge is not esoteric or limited to him: decisions are made publicly, in conjunction with other wise elders, or actually in an informal council. The object of the adjudication is to prevent rupture within the society, and successful settlement requires not only the satisfaction of the plaintiff's grievance but also the condemned's acceptance of the decision, inasmuch as the judges have no police powers. Penalties for theft and breaches of faith—especially of marriage contracts—are restitution or indemnification in kind, but murder or sexual offense may lead to individual retaliation by force, and incest is usually considered a crime against the whole community and so requires commensurate penalization. Sanctions are either supernatural or public pressure, with an extreme recalcitrant occasionally withdrawing from the group to seek his living elsewhere.

Group activities such as hunting expeditions or the building of fishtrap dams—or raiding parties among those societies which mount them (for example, Ilongots do, Mangyans do not)—are under the direction of the one or group who organizes them, although there may be some carryover in leadership from one of the "chiefs" or elders mentioned above if they happen to be qualified for this particular role. With this latter exception, such group

leaders to not retain any authority once the expedition is disbanded. But these group activities require considerable leadership while they last, especially if they call for the complete mobilization of the male population. Ilongot hunting expeditions with dogs or nets require coordinated division of labor, and fish dams constructed by the Taubuid Mangyans of Occidental Mindoro involve series of wood-framed earthworks two meters high in conjunction with 150-meter channels to redirect the streams.

None of these societies have traditional means for dealing with aliens at a political level, although the formalization of chieftaincy has been a frequent response to contact with more powerful groups. The Batangan Mangyan *ngulo* "headman" often deals with representatives of the Manila-based government in this capacity, and is nowadays expected to be brave, successful in farming, and adept in sorcery, as well as wise. Their Mangyan neighbors of Bacu and Naujan call such a leader *amo* or *puno*, and give him a special location near the door in the communal dwelling which he shares with in-laws, and the Palawan Bataks early in this century actually recognized a non-Batak as *agalen*, or protector and go-between. But the more common historic response to this situation has been withdrawal either peacefully or with a vigorous enough response to cost the aggressor some loss of life for his encroachment. Violence against outsiders by those societies with more warlike traditions, however—such as the Ilongots who take heads to attain full manhood, or Negrito groups who kill to fulfill mourning rites—calls forth only temporary leadership and is conceived of as individual rather than communal action.

None of these societies have any concept of the ownership of real estate. The land itself is the property of supernatural personalities whose permission must be ritually secured for safe and fruitful use, and, similarly, wild forest products or game are either the possessions of, or under the protection of, spirits whose prerogatives must be recognized by ritual or even token payments in kind. The products of the land, however, are owned by those who grow them, and may be alienated or loaned. Fish and game taken in group enterprises are divided equally among the participants and their dependents, or according to an agreed schedule which recognizes divisions of labor, risk, or leadership. Though all these societies are supported by subsistence agriculture or no agriculture at all, there is considerable variation in their economic standards. At the one extreme, forest-dwelling Negritos own no more possessions than can be carried on their persons when following game or searching for new foodstuffs, while, at the other, swidden farming Ilongots and Hanunoo Mangyans practice such integrated agricultural techniques that they produce sufficient surplus for

the accumulation of imported trade items like Chinese porcelains and brass gongs which serve as heirloom wealth rather than as practical utensils. Such wealth may lead, in turn, to such advantages as better marriage partners—i.e., more productive ones—and among the Tiruray is exchanged in palavering sessions which provide the arena for displaying that society's most esteemed public skill. Yet it has not given rise to any significant descent lines. Nor has another incipient potential for descent specialization among the Batangan Mangyans, the inheritance of skills in sorcery, produced any class of petty aristocracy. The same may be said of prominent leaders among the Sulod who have not produced an aristocracy despite the deference shown their kind in special burial rites. This overall lack of social stratification, taken together with a political development so stunted it knows no techniques for pursuing or resisting territorial aggrandizement, suggests that these societies developed in an environment of unlimited resources in land.

TYPE 2: WARRIOR SOCIETIES

Societies in the second category are characterized by a distinct warrior class, in which membership is won by personal achievement, entails privilege, duty and prescribed norms of conduct, and is requisite for community leadership. These "braves" are men who have won a reputation for ferocity in battle—or, more accurately, for the number of lives they have taken in battle or elsewhere—and are recognizable by distinctive costume or tattoos. The Manobo of Agusan and Cotabato, the Mandaya, Bagobo and Tagakaolo of Davao, and the Bilaan of the Davao-Cotabato border region call them *bagani* or *magani*, while the Isnegs and Kalingas of northern Luzon call them *mengal* or *maingel*. Some of these groups' neighbors appear to have belonged to this category, too, before external military force "tamed" their warriors and replaced them with political appointees who could be held responsible for the collection of tribute or taxes and the control of resistance to imposed authority. Typical are the Subanon whose *timuway* elders have been cast in this role at various times by Boholano, Moro, Spanish, and American overlords during the past four centuries as their warrior chiefs disappeared, or the Bukidnon of the province of that name who are still undergoing such a process. The Kulan of South Cotabato nowadays recognize not only civil leaders called *datus* but chief *datus* and even a *sultan* with a *raja muda* heir to the succession. So, too, the Bilaan now consider their *fulong* leaders *datus*, and a *bong fulong*, a presiding *datu*. And among the Tinguians of Abra adjoining the Kalinga and Isnegs,

the only political title recognized in 1900 after three centuries of sporadic colonial jurisdiction was a village headman called *lakay*—who, however, was typically elected by a group of prominent men who were themselves *maingel* braves.

The major occasion for exercising military skill among these societies is during raids called *mangayaw* into unallied territory, but individual attacks are made by stealth or as opportunity presents itself, including suicidal one-man forays. Captives or heads may be taken in these raids, or occasionally booty, but not territory. Individual incentive for organizing, leading or participating in such raids is desire to avenge an affront to personal or family honor, to fulfill mourning requirements or placate blood-thirsting deities or spirits threatening death through illness, to relieve the pain of intense bereavement, or simply to achieve personal prominence or mercenary reward. In many of these societies, such behavior is undergirded by a specific metaphysical basis. The Bagobo pantheon includes a sky deity called Manda-rangan who requires human blood and wreaks vengeance through natural catastrophes like drought if neglected, and the *bagani* constitute an exclusive and qualified priesthood for his service. Full-fledged Mandaya and Manobo warriors go into action under spirit possession by their individual warrior deities and behave with berserking frenzy at the moment of kill, while Tinguian braves in the grip of battle used to lap up the blood dripping from severed heads held aloft. And in northern Kalinga, the *sangasang* shrine on the village outskirts is the haunt of guardian spirits who need to be fed periodically with human heads.

Since all unallied persons are potential victims for warrior chiefs, public and personal safety requires considerable vigilance, and travel for economic pursuits or actual trade is done under military escort. To facilitate the importation of such necessities as salt or luxuries as brass, trading partnerships or peace pacts are established to guarantee safe conduct, especially of aliens from nonwarrior societies, with individual braves ritually undertaking such responsibility. In Kalinga this system has developed into a network of bilateral non-aggression pacts called *bodong* between any one village and all others, each held by a pair of pact-holders who personally guarantee the reception, security, and fair treatment of their partners' people—or revenge of their deaths.

Warrior chiefs carry weight in group decisions but membership in their class does not guarantee a position of community leadership. Real leadership requires the additional qualifications of skill in arbitrating disputes and sufficient wealth to feast visitors and succor dependents in time of need. There are terms to distinguish wise legalists or respected family founders—like Ba-

gobo *pandi* and *matanom* or Kalinga *mangitudtuchu*—but no title for a village headman or clan chief, even in the case of uncontested individual dominance. Nor do these chiefs, individually or collectively, exercise any more influence beyond their own communities than a reputation for ferocity in battle. The *baganis* recognize several grades of achievement among themselves with distinctive costume variations, and a top-grade warrior chief attracts to himself a following of lesser chiefs, as well as a kind of cadet corps; and among the Mandaya, these constitute a brotherhood competent to accept or reject aspirants technically eligible for membership, and collectively make political decisions for the community. In Mindanao, the typical settlement pattern is a cluster of from three to six houses, sometimes stockaded or built in trees for defense, around the larger house of a chief to whom lesser braves have attached themselves. No such formal attachments are found in northern Luzon, but the presence of warrior chiefs is considered essential to the safety of any kin settlement. In Kalinga, the dominant leader in such a group will be the full-fledged leader, or *pangat*, rather than simply the *maingel* brave.

Legal cases are argued before a judge or judges acceptable to both litigants, or their assembled relatives as a jury, in public drinkfests which constitute the major—and in some cases the only—occasion for community self-identification, and their cost is ultimately borne by the loser. The family of each litigant musters the most eloquent advocates available to it and backs them with an intimidating array of braves. Decisions are made by the fine adjustment of general principles of custom law to the comparative social standing of the contending parties, such status arising from their total warrior strength and heirloom wealth. Penalties are fines, wergeld, or death, and are exacted if necessary by braves acting out of kin loyalty, appointment by the “court,” or for hire. The immediate object of the settlement is to prevent either party from resorting to the *lex talionis* for satisfaction.

All societies with warrior chiefs live by swidden farming, although the Kalingas have adopted terraced pond-fields in the recent past. Braves clear their own fields like everybody else—for which reason *mangayaw* raids tend to be seasonal—except among the Mandaya where *baganis* live exclusively off the tribute of their dependents and so qualify as a sort of “parasite class.” Agricultural surplus is produced by increasing labor force through polygyny, progeny, sons-in-law, dependents by blood or debt, or slaves. The heirloom wealth necessary for high social status consists of imports like porcelain, brassware and beads, or local manufactures like weapons and goldwork. It is accumulated mainly through brideprice, wergeld and legal fees, and is thus more likely

to be the result of personal power than the cause. However, such substance enables the rising *bagani* to select low-status victims whose wergeld he can afford, or the Kalinga *maingel* to let his son practice by wounding such a person in his own community, and thus favors the rise of an aristocracy.

In Mindanao, slaves are taken in *mangayaw* raids, women and children for labor, men for sale to external slave markets, and the handicapped for sacrificial victims, and they constitute a monetary unit of exchange in calculating wergeld or brideprice. The warrior societies of northern Luzon, on the other hand, have no living memory of slave-raiding, although Spanish records indicate that Isnegs formerly did. What may be a vestige is the Kalinga *bobbonan*, "those you can order around," or *poyong*, an individual who may be an incompetent introduced into a household through misfortune, suasion or force, but who may also be a competent adult who volunteers for such attachment because of insufficient family connections for personal safety or economic security.

The introduction of terraced wet-rice technology among both the Tinguians and the Kalingas has contributed to the eclipse of the warrior chiefs, and in southern Kalinga has produced a propertied class called by the Cordillera and Ilocano terms for the "wealthy"—*kadangyan* and *baknang*, respectively. Moreover, in the Tanudan valley of Kalinga, specialized grades are developing within this class based on the possession of both heirloom wealth and terraced fields.

TYPE 3: PETTY PLUTOCRACIES

Societies in the third category are called "plutocracies" because they are dominated socially and politically by a recognized class of rich men who attain membership through birthright, property, and the performance of specified ceremonies; and "petty" because their authority is localized, being extended by neither absentee landlordism nor territorial subjugation. These societies are found only on the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon, and the wealthy class is called *kadangyan* in the Ifugao, Bontoc, and Kankanay languages, and *baknang* in Ibaloy. Qualifications are both ascribed and acquired—inherited wealth from either parent in the form of real property, and a public prestige feast, or graded series of feasts, in which the butchering of animals feeds and indebts the whole community. The *kadangyan* is entitled to distinctive patterns in dress and required to marry and bury in prescribed extravagant fashion, and marries within his class. To exercise leadership and maintain status, the *kadangyan* must revalidate his membership with periodic prestige feasts, and public prominence re-

quires the display of heirloom wealth (gongs, beads, and porcelain) and the tattoos of a headtaking veteran. Community decisions are made by *kadangyan* peers acting either collectively in council or competitively as individuals. Qualifying property must be inherited terraced rice fields for *kadangyan* status, though agricultural land may be less important for *baknang* status in the Benguet gold fields than access to mineral rights or acquired wealth like cattle.

It might be mentioned that the Kalinga neighbors of the Bontocs and Ifugaos also farm irrigated rice terraces and reckon real property as a qualification for leadership and prestige, but have no ritually sanctioned *kadangyan* class. Moreover, inherited property is not enough: to be really respected, a Kalinga must add to his inheritance by his own efforts.

Real estate may be increased by construction of new terraces, foreclosure of mortgages, indemnification for torts or breach of contract, or, occasionally, outright purchase. Acquired land, however, does not qualify as a basis for *kadangyan* status until passed from one generation to another. Fields are held in usufruct by individuals descended from the original builder, and require periodic chicken sacrifices which establish a metaphysical sanction against alienation outside the descent line. Fields are frequently mortgaged, and occasionally sold, to meet such crisis expenses as crop failure, illness, accident, or funerals, and in Ifugao and Benguet, at least, profits from such transactions provide the capital for a usury with high interest rates and inheritable debts which produce dependence or bondage. Animals provided for community sacrifice in times of public need, moreover, are everywhere repaid by communal labor whose value exceeds the price of the animal.

These petty plutocracies occupy the most precipitous terrain farmed in the archipelago, and the availability of water sets limits to the number of terraced fields that can be built. The produce of such fields must be supplemented by root crops grown in swiddens, which do not constitute a basis for *kadangyan* heritage. Swidden land left fallow may theoretically be reopened by any descendant of the first person to clear it, though the unwieldy size of bilateral kin groups sometimes leads to restricting or rotating it to one particular family. In practice, such land is used by any person who wishes to work it unless one of the claimants invokes prior right. Forests and woodlands are public property, though restricted to certain communities. Rice is the preferred staple of diet, and a fair index of economic and social standing is the comparative percentage of rice and root crops consumed, those at the top of scale leaving granaries full of rice to their heirs, those at the bottom tasting it only during ritual or prestige feasts. *Kadangyans* thus

enjoy a better diet, but they have more fields to work and livestock to tend and so do not constitute a leisured class.

Small landholders who have not attained *kadangyan* status but might reasonably entertain such hopes are called by terms conveniently translated as "poor"—e.g., Ibaloy *abitog*, Kankanay *ko-do*, or Bontoc *kokitak*—but the fact that they live under constant threats of economic reversal is reflected in the Ifugao terms *namatuk* or *mabitol*, "those who may hunger." They might also be described as economic competitors whose progress can be measured by the number and quality of *rites de passage*, healing sacrifices, and welfare feasts they have performed. Those who are literally propertyless, and therefore doomed to non-competition, are called *nawatwat* in Ifugao, the "disinherited" or "passed by." The catastrophic nature of such penury is expressed in almost moral terms in Bontoc *lawalarwa* (from *lawa*, "bad")—perhaps "cursed" or "despicable." Such persons may be debt peons but there is no class of chattel slaves except in Benguet where purchased or captured slaves—*baga-en*—used to be employed for mine labor. External economic contacts have also given rise to new terms, such as the Ilocano *baknang* for salaried or stockholding *nouveau riche* of non-*kadangyan* lineage, or northern Kankanay *komidwa*, literally, "second-class" property holders.

These petty plutocracies display considerable descent line specialization, only some of which is attributable to migrations or intermarriage. Not only do all *kadangyans* inherit specific privileges and ritual requirements as a class, but among them those who complete more or less of a lifetime cycle of graded ceremonies found lineages of greater or less prestige. Individuals of some descent lines may be required to perform sacrifices in a special manner—for example, by butchering a larger number of animals—while some fields or sacred sites receive sacrifices which can only be offered by heirs of a particular lineage. And there are community agricultural rites which require priests or priestesses descended from a successful predecessor of their kind. There are thus alternate styles of performing given wedding or funeral rites, and for selecting burial sites, which reflect status.

Terraced rice fields are small, scattered, and difficult of access, so efficient use requires pooled labor with gangs based on consanguinity or residence working each family's holdings in turn. Up to a certain limit, no adjustment is made for overall size, so larger landholders may receive a disproportionate share of the total community labor. The basic principle in water rights is that older fields take precedence over newer, and new fields should not be constructed higher than old ones on the same water source. In Bontoc, control of water may be exercised by irrigation societies

which in some places construct canals and flumes, dam and divert streams, and occasionally drill tunnels, but in Ifugao a group of farmers hire a kind of sheriff for this duty. All agricultural activities are scheduled to a mandatory ritual calendar, with some fields enjoying special rights or precedence. In Ifugao, the right to plant and harvest before others is vested in a kind of village representative—the *tumona*, “one who goes first,” or the *manungaw* ritual rice chief who declares the dates of the cycle. Either of these therefore enjoys enough manipulative authority to qualify more nearly as a political officer than any other role recognized among Cordillera cultures.

These terrace-based societies support populations distributed in communities of 800 to 2,000 persons, but settlement patterns differ greatly. In Ifugao, five to ten houses are a typical concentration of adjoining houseyards, though they are usually within sight of several other such clusters and may be within earshot of 100 more distant neighbors. In Bontoc, on the other hand, communities of similar size are so compact that most houseyards are contiguous, and so urban they are divided into political wards of from ten to fifteen households with ritual and judicial ward centers called *ator* (or *dap-ay* in Kankanay). Benguet settlement patterns fall between these two extremes, tending to be more atomized the farther they are from river banks. None of these settlements or house clusters, however, have any designated chief or headman.

Communal decisions are made, directly or ultimately, by the cumulative power of the plutocrats, but the methods vary as much as the settlement patterns do. In Ifugao they are made in debates which pit individual personalities against one another, but in Bontoc and Benguet in councils of old men called *amam-a* or *dallakay*. Such Bontoc councils are held in the various ward centers where, although powerful personalities exert more influence than others, a consciously egalitarian concept moves peers to curb the self-interest of the more powerful among them. In Benguet, such gatherings—called *tongtong*—are invoked only for specific cases and are not only dominated by the leading plutocrats but restricted to them. So, too, in settling disputes and trying crimes, Ifugao and Bontoc procedures differ: Ifugao litigants depend on virtuoso go-betweens called *munkalon*, a role of high social esteem, while Bontoc cases are heard in *ator* assemblies of elders where personal or kin interests are theoretically subordinated to the common weal. Responsibility for the exaction of legal penalties in Ifugao lies with the victor's kin, but police power is exerted in Bontoc by group pressure and threat of withholding ward cooperation. *Ator* wards may themselves perform some of the same

functions as individuals—e.g., bring suit against one another, hold peacepacts with another community, and act as war-making units for *mangayaw* headtaking revenge. Moreover, the Bontoc *ator* system appears to set standards of village solidarity and limits to individual leadership which are unique among the unhispanized societies examined in this paper.

TYPE 4: PRINCIPALITIES

Societies in the fourth category are dominated by a recognized aristocracy with birthright claim to allegiance from followers, which produces local overlords with individual political titles who, in turn, recognize the birthright claim of one among them to allegiance from all the others of their class. They thus constitute, in theory or in fact, principalities with more or less centralized political organizations—or even royal states, considering the fact that their rulers must be direct descendants of other such rulers—and their sovereignty has frequently received international recognition in the past. The central authority in each is competent to create titled offices and appoint supervisory subordinates, and the aristocracy which supports it occupies the upper levels of a social continuum of client-patron relationships which descends to disfranchised debtors and unenfranchised slaves, as well as tribute-paying subjects of varying status in other language groups. All societies in this category profess Islam—for which reason they were called *moros* in Spanish—and are found only in the Sulu Archipelago, the flood plain of the Pulangi River valley, the Lanao lake region between Illana and Iligan Bays, and a few outlying islands like Cagayan de Sulu.

The aristocracy is called the *datu* class, and its members are presumably the descendants of the first settlers on the land or, in the case of later arrivals, of those who were *datu*s at the time of migration or conquest. In any given locality, one among them, usually the senior, is the political head of a community composed of his immediate family and relatives, dependents, and slaves. Such an office of datuship, as distinct from mere membership in the class, imparts authority but not power. The *datu's* power stems from the willingness of his followers to render him respect and material and moral support, to accept and implement his decisions, and to obey and enforce his orders, and is limited by the consensus of his peers. Followers give their support in response to his ability and willingness to use his power on their behalf, to make material gifts or loans in time of crisis, and to provide legal or police protection and support against opponents. The *datu's* most frequent service is juridical—to resolve petty differences

without violence, to render amicable-settlement decisions without recourse to formal courts that administer Islamic or customary law, or to augment his followers' military capacity to exact satisfaction from offenders in other communities. Failure to discharge such duties may result in the quiet withdrawal of cooperation and support, so that autocratic behavior on the part of any *datu* is the result rather than the cause of subservience on the part of others.

The community's land is inherited and held in usufruct by individuals, but the *datu* has ultimate right of disposition and may invoke it in case of disputes or significant demographic or ecological change. The land itself may be encumbered but not alienated—that is, may not be removed from the community's use—and the practice of some *datus* in the twentieth century to sell parcels outright, in good faith or in bad, has occasioned considerable bloodshed. The *datu* receives more or less material support from his community—a portion of crops, payments for tenancy or share-cropping, labor service, or most importantly, unscheduled contributions for prestige feasts, the costs of hospitality required for public functions, or an enterprise which affects the whole community. The fact that land use payments tend to be fixed rather than proportional to productivity illustrates the concept that control is exercised over persons not real estate. The *datu*, in turn, is expected to succor his followers in time of financial emergency, and to provide both material and military aid in time of danger. If the produce of his community is limited, his economic role is one of redistributing wealth rather than accumulating it, but if he has access to greater surplus, he and his family are freed from productive labor, and he can devote his full energies to business, adjudicating, and politicking, and use his capital to participate in maritime trade as merchant, raider, entrepreneur, or investor.

The political role of a *datu* may extend beyond his own community, in which case his power stems from client-patron relations with other *datus*, and his authority from an individual political title assumed during an inaugural prestige feast. Ideally, such titles should be inherited and have been bestowed originally by a superior in the political hierarchy, preferably the paramount ruler of a royal state, but in practice they are often created on the initiative of a *datu* who can muster the necessary support to make the title functional. The word *datu* itself may be used as such a title, but generally titles are of extra-Philippine linguistic origin. They may be merely ceremonial or actually reflect an historic office such as *Rajah Muda* ("young ruler" or heir apparent), *Kapitan Laut* ("sea lord" or admiral), or *Panglima* ("one of the five," a sort of

chief minister with viceregal authority). Most prestigious among them are the native term *datu*, *rajah* (Hindu), and *sultan* (Arabic), and this latter is invariably held by the royal incumbent of those principalities with most centralized governments—e.g., the Sultanates of Sulu and Maguindanao. But all such titled overlords exert their authority over their supporting lesser lords rather than over the populace which may technically be subject to them. So, too, their claim to territory occupied by their supporting *datus*, as distinguished from alien or unoccupied land, is made effective by these *datus*.

Supernatural sanction is given the royalty of these states by the traditional Islamic concept that a ruler of Muslims must be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad—a *sharif*, that is. The requisite Arab genes were introduced by two fifteenth century *sharifs* who married one or more of the daughters of local *datus*, their offspring thereby inheriting rights to the land occupied by their maternal grandfather's followers. In the comparatively centralized Sultanate of Sulu, this royal line went largely uncontested except for intradynastic competition, but in less centralized Maguindanao, cooperation was often begrudging on the part of other specialized descent lines—those originating from the *sharif's* companions or peers, for example, or his first official appointees, and even a lineage of local rulers with claims to descent from a third *sharif* otherwise unknown. Moreover, the practice of polygyny and the inheritance patterns of a bilateral kinship system have produced whole societies in which even humble citizens can claim technical descent from a *sharif*. Thus among the Maranao, a loose confederation of principalities sharing a common language and culture boasts such a high proportion of *datus* around Lake Lanao that their overlapping and interlocking client-patron relationships have effectively forestalled the emergence of a centralized state.

A reigning sultan has *de jure* right to collect taxes, tariffs, and a variety of fees, dispose of property and delegate authority, and appoint a considerable roster of judges, ministers, and administrative assistants. He holds court, renders justice in response to appeals, and is advised—and sometimes inhibited—by a state council. He maintains a personal bodyguard and the loyalty of a corps of *datu* warriors, but does not enjoy the monopoly on the means of violence which is characteristic of the modern nation-state. On the contrary, military power is widely diffused, and the skills and attitudes essential to mercantile or piratical expeditions by sea, and *mangayaw* slave raids, are still available for the settlement of disputes involving personal or family honor. Certain offences so strictly require physical retaliation that to submit them to legal arbitration or settlement by fine or wergeld is to advertise a social-

ly debilitating lack of virility. In times of civil war involving armies, battles may actually be joined in response to sexual crimes committed by members of invading forces.

Enfranchised members of the community who are not *datus* are called *sakop*. Like *datus*, they have the right to use land, to make and unmake client-patron relations, and to enter into ritual brotherhoods or feuding alliances with their peers. Unlike *datus*, however, they cannot ordinarily hold titles. *Sakop* means "follower" or "vassal" in Maranao and Maguindanao, but the Taosugs of Sulu distinguish this *datu-sakop* dichotomy with the more prosaic expressions *bangsa mataas*, "high birthright," and *tau way bangsa*, "people without birthright." Performing the functions of vassal, of course, requires a certain economic viability, and those who lose it also lose status and may become temporarily or permanently disfranchised. A man in such straits may voluntarily enter into bondage—what the Maranao call *kakatomokan*—or be involuntarily condemned to debt peonage or indentured servitude by legal action, and become what the Maguindanao call *ulipon* and the Taosug *kiapangdihilan*. In addition to such enfranchised and disfranchised members of the community, there are two distinct sorts of un-enfranchised persons—captive or chattel slaves (*banyaga* or *bisaya*), and an outcaste non-Muslim boat people called *Badjaw* by outsiders, who act as fishermen-clients to Sulu patrons but retain a precarious freedom to shift allegiance simply by sailing away in the middle of the night. Membership in all these "classes" can be inherited.

These class rankings are important in calculating wergeld and brideprice, but are less useful for understanding the social structure of daily life because they disguise the dominating man-to-man relationships which determine an individual's actual social condition. Unlike the *bagani* "killer," *maingel* "brave," or *kadangyan* "richman," the class terms current in these principalities reveal interpersonal political relations. The *banyaga* is not a slave in the abstract: he is owned by a particular person; and the debt peon is not in debt in general: he is in debt to a particular creditor—a creditor, in fact, who is expected to protect him against other creditors. The *sakop* is the vassal not of the *datu* class but of his own *datu*, and *datus* themselves—"rulers," that is—do not rule geographic domains but bodies of individual followers. Even the chief *datu* of them all, the sultan, exerts his authority not over a realm but over his *datu* supporters, some of whom may in fact be neither Muslim nor even members of his society. Everybody, in short, is somebody else's man, and the Maranao articulate the fact semantically by distinguishing the *pegawid* "supporters" from the *pegawidan* "supported." The fact that these classes

constitute a continuum is reflected in such a high degree of social mobility that the former slave population has been largely absorbed during the present century. The socially disapproved but not infrequent practice of procreating across class lines combines with bilateral descent claims to produce status refinement every time it occurs. For this reason the determination of brideprice in the upper ranks of society is both complex and weighty; and because a man can easily slip from one status to another, he defends that status to the death and avenges any threat to it with violence.

CONCLUSION

Class structures in the unhispanized Philippines range from societies which distinguish no classes at all to those which distinguish either economic or political classes. This variety can conveniently be described in four general categories according to indigenous terminologies, enumerated in ascending order of class differentiation as follows: (1) those which distinguish no class differences at all, (2) those which distinguish a warrior elite, (3) those which distinguish the wealthy, and (4) those which distinguish a literal ruling class.

It is obvious that the two extremes of this sequence reflect economic or ecological variations as well as social or political specialization. Those Negritos who almost literally own nothing and scavenge for their daily food not surprisingly have neither economic classes nor political organization; and, no more surprisingly, the Sultanate of Sulu is dependent upon a class structure which makes possible the exploitation of that commerce whose profits maintain the structure. With these two extremes in mind, the four types of class structure may be reviewed.

CLASSLESS SOCIETIES

These societies produce little or no surplus from their environment. Some live by gathering forest products, some by hunting and gathering, some by exchanging game or forest products for foodstuffs; others live by combined hunting, gathering, and limited cultivation, and still others by such integrated swidden farming, hunting, fishing, and sale of forest products that they can afford manufactured imports like brassware and porcelain. Most do not make war—indeed, the Tiruray and Mangyan are among the few Filipino cultures with no weaponry, memories of military valor; or warrior traditions. Yet the Batak of Palawan once had such a reputation for bravery they were spared Moro slave raids, many Negrito groups commit homicide as a mourning rite, and the

Ilongot have remained the most notorious headtakers in the archipelago. Two economic comments may be made about these war-making groups—first, they do not share the same level of economic development (e.g., the Ilongots produce much more than Negritos, but about the same as Mangyans or Tiruray), and, second, they practice no coup-counting which might produce a warrior elite.

WARRIOR SOCIETIES

Although economic data are unavailable for assessing overall productivity, empirical observations suggest that warrior societies generally possess more imported trade items as heirloom wealth than any of the societies of type 1, and those in Mindanao have rich traditions of metallurgy and weaving unequalled in the classless societies. Their languages distinguish a class of warrior elite—not a warrior class among nonwarriors, but a class of superior warriors in a society where all males are expected to be warriors. How much economic advantage accrues to this class is not clear except in the case of the Mandaya whose *bagani* warrior chiefs are known to live off tribute from lesser warriors—or nonwarriors. Yet, like the Negrito food-gatherers or Mangyan agriculturalists of type 1 societies, these warriors do not own—that is, inherit, mortgage, exchange, alienate, or bequeath—real property. The criterion for placing the Ilongot in type 1 and the not dissimilar Isneg in type 2 is not economic development, but the existence among the latter of a class term, *maingel*, which distinguishes a category of men with shared status, privilege, and responsibility in the community.

PETTY PLUTOCRACIES

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that type 3 societies are former warrior societies whose intensive farming of irrigated terraces has produced a land-owning and -inheriting class which takes precedence over military veterans—and which must rank as one of the most sharply defined classes in ethnographic literature. The full-fledged *kadangyan* must not only be of *kadangyan* lineage but he acquires his personal rank in a ceremony as specific as ordination to the priesthood or receiving a doctorate. These societies produce more food, support larger populations, and exhibit greater economic gaps than either the classless or warrior societies. Their landed elite exploit the labor of dependents and debtors, but are not a leisured class inasmuch as they work part of their own fields, often alongside actual debt peons. Despite a common

class structure, type 3 societies differ considerably. The Ifugao upper class are kin-oriented, usurious, and competitive, while their Bontoc counterparts' individualism and self-aggrandizement are curbed by ideals and sanctions of village or ward solidarity. Benguet elite, on the other hand, are actual capitalists dealing in gold and cattle, are not dependent upon rice land, and have long since given up such warrior insignia as tattoos or human trophies. And if the assumption is correct that type 3 societies developed out of type 2, the Kalinga would illustrate a transitional stage—terrace-building warriors among whom a land-based *kadangyan* class is rapidly developing.

PRINCIPALITIES

The economic base of the type 4 societies is much broader than that of type 3, for, in addition to practicing sedentary agriculture, they have upper classes that engage in more or less maritime trade, and enjoy a certain amount of slave labor. Yet their elite are literally defined as a ruling class, for *datu* is the root of the verb, "to rule." Appropriately, all other classes are defined in political rather than economic terms, too—supporter, vassal, slave, etc.—in contrast to the nonelite of the petty plutocracies who are simply called "poor." Moreover, the principalities are constituted as states with centralized, or centralizing, governments. It is this class structure which provides the socioeconomic specialization necessary to exploit both domestic and foreign commerce. Or, to put it the other way around, it is this commerce which provides the profits by which the ruling class maintains the society's class structure. Thus, that principality with the most extensive international trade, the Sultanate of Sulu, is not only the most centralized state but its Taosug hegemony provides the only example in Philippine history of all members of one language group recognizing one ruler. Similarly, that society with the least extended commerce, the Maranao of Lake Lanao, have never achieved a centralized government, but rather produced a creative array of political offices and competing titles. Such political class structures sharply set type 4 societies off from type 1, 2, and 3, not only in having central authorities and politically defined classes, but simply in having political offices in the first place. For neither the classless and warrior societies nor the petty plutocracies have any recognized political titles or offices at all. A Moro can speak of "my *datu*" but no Bontoc or Ifugao says "my *kadangyan*." When a Cordillera plutocrat gives his inaugural prestige feast, he becomes one more *kadangyan*, but when a Maranao

mounts the same social display, he becomes the one and only *Sultan sa Lambayanagi* or *Datu sa Marawi*, etc.

It is to be noted, however, that all the warrior societies of Mindanao have developed or received centralized *datu*-like offices in the past century. These were usually imposed or inspired by Moro states for purpose of tribute or trade, a process which has left mixed memories in those societies which effectively internalized them. The *Ulahingan* epics of the Cotabato Manobo frequently celebrate some tribal flight from Moro tyranny, but modern savants recall their ancestors' vassal offices with pride and refer to tribute to some rajah as fond gifts. And the process continued into the twentieth century—and, indeed, is continuing still. The Suyan Bilaan above Sarangani Bay were "organized" in 1917 by a Bicolano adventurer with contacts in the local constabulary, and the Bukidnon, who distinguish "high *datus*" from ordinary ones, actually founded a "Bukidnon Tribe Datu Association" in 1960. But the production of such offices has not been the inevitable result of Moro influence or overlordship. The Tagbanua of Aborlan, Palawan, for example, have developed so distinctive a social structure it cannot be fitted into any of the four categories. This is a class-conscious system obsessed with the dominance of "high bloods" over "low bloods" and a full roster of Moro titles like *Laksamana*, *Panglima*, *Urang Kaya*, and even *Saribung-sawan* (i.e., *Sarip Kabungsuwan*) but with no political power—something presumably supplied from outside.

The warrior societies of northern Luzon, on the other hand, have produced no such *datu*-like leaders—perhaps for want of a Moro example. A few Kalinga *pangat* were set up early in this century by American governors as local deputies, but the institution was not absorbed into that warrior society's class structure—a fact made manifest today by the present government's inability to locate indigenous loci of power that might be co-opted to advance national interests like dam-building in the Chico River valley. In Benguet at the turn of the century, however, a few *baknang* had become virtual manorial lords replete with *baga-en* slaves, *silbi* serfs, and *pastol* cowhands, and it was probably their availability as political leaders which moved the American occupation forces to establish the colony's first civil government in Benguet. Otherwise, the complete lack of political offices among type 3 societies must come as a disappointment to the social scientist since these societies are obviously more advanced than the swidden-farming warrior societies—in terms of economic development, the emergence of a landowning elite, and the construction of monolithic terrace systems. Perhaps the ability of these petty plutocrats to carve up whole mountainsides into ter-

rices, plant them to rice in accordance with a strict communal calendar, and allocate and control water rights without the least tribal chief, *datu*, or central authority, may profitably serve as a warning against simplistic theories of the emergence of class structure and political organization.

An Ilocano-Igorot Peacepact of 1820

Translated by John Flameygh, CICM, and W. H. Scott

Introduction

In the 1960's the Rev. Henri Geeroms, CICM, discovered an eight-page Ilocano manuscript bound into the back of the unpaginated *Libro de Casamientos de este Convento de Tagudin, Año de 1734 y Bautismos* of St. Augustine's Church, Tagudin, La Union, with a Spanish superscription which reads as follows:

1820. Pact made by the community of *Capitanes Pasados* and the principal *Cabezas de Barangay* of the towns Bangar and Tagudin with the Igorots of Bacong, Kayan and Cagubatan and other settlements of the Igorots who pay recognition fees to the King, our Lord (whom God keep), officially witnessed by the *Gobernadorcillos* of the said towns, Don Agustín de Valencia and Don Simón de los Reyes.

The document is in fact a peacepact entered into for the purpose of restoring the highland-lowland trade which had been broken off three years before by the death of an Igorot in Tagudin and the retaliatory killing of an Ilocano of Bangar. It is a valuable document for the study of historic Igorot-Ilocano relations: its text indicates that it is based on even earlier peacepacts, and its very existence suggests that the old men of Besao cited in James Robertson's 1914 "The Igorots of Lepanto" (*Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 9) were not being fanciful when they said their ancestors had possessed a written pact with Candon and Santa Lucia, I.S., in the time of Lepanto Military Governor Antonio Perea (1853-1856). It is also a valuable document for the study of what is, after all, a very old and indigenous Filipino institution.

Peacepacts are at least as old as written Philippine history. At the time of the Spanish advent, there was no Filipino government strong enough to monopolize military or civil power, and individual leaders made seasonal raids called *mangayaw* for pur-

poses of vengeance, booty, or slaves. Under these conditions, some means were necessary to permit the safe movement of forest products to the coastal ports, and the import of such foreign products as Chinese porcelains and their distribution throughout the archipelago by the tens of thousands afterwards. The pacts which made such commerce possible were promptly extended to the Spanish invaders. Those in which the first generation of *conquistadores* participated were actually non-aggression pacts—unlike such western-style mutual aid treaties as Francisco de Atienza made with the Sultan of Sulu in 1645 and 1646. Technically, these pacts served two different purposes—to guarantee safe passage to strangers, as in the case of Legazpi's pact with Si **Katuna** of Bohol in 1565, or to bring hostilities to an end, as in the case of Martín de Goiti and Soliman in Manila in 1570—differences which are still formally distinguished in Bontoc peacepacts today.

By the beginning of the 17th century, the Spaniards considered the legitimacy of their occupation of the archipelago an accepted fact and so no longer recognized any Filipino bodies as competent to make such pacts. In frontier areas where such legitimacy was not recognized by independent Filipinos, however, the institution continued, and hard-pressed military commanders and lonely missionary friars regularly made use of them during the 17th and 18th centuries. By the 19th century, these unsubjugated areas began to loom large in Spanish plans to put the colony on a paying basis: they represented an untapped source of tribute and, especially in northern Luzon, wrought havoc with the Tobacco Monopoly's profits. It is against this background that the Ilocano-Igorot peacepact of 1820 must be seen.

The Agustín Decdec of Kayan (Mountain Province) who figures as one of the chief signatories of the pact, was an Igorot chieftain with pretensions to authority over 27 neighboring communities (as his son Soliman and nephew Sakyod claimed in Malacañang in 1814), who very possibly had a few drops of Spanish blood in his veins. (Judging from his name, his great-grandfather Miguel Mestizo, who received the title of *Maestro de Campo* of Igorots in Vigan in 1700, appears to have been born and baptized during the short-lived Spanish occupation of Kayan in 1667-1668 under the patronage of the Archangel Michael.) Back in Decdec's youth, the central government had neither the will nor the means to prevent the untaxed highland-lowland commerce which involved most of the colony's gold production. But by 1820, Monopoly revenue agents were roaming the narrow Ilocos coastal plain, and Kayan itself had been reported in 1811 as the major local source of contraband; what with its "*superabundantísimas siembras de tabaco.*" Wise producers like Decdec therefore duti-

fully paid the minimal "Recognition of vassalage" fees required of law-abiding pagans, and when their traditional peace pact with their lowland customers and partners broke down in 1817, they restored it by submitting to legal proceedings in the Spanish town hall. To these circumstances we owe the production and preservation of the present document.

The word "peace pact" is nowadays most popularly associated with the name of the Kalingas in northern Luzon, both because of anthropologist Roy Franklin Barton's classic study of their particular use of this institution, and because of their much publicized opposition to government plans to build a series of hydroelectric dams in their territory. The traditional Kalinga peace pact was instituted by two warrior leaders who guaranteed to enforce its terms by their personal prowess, and is characterized by a series of reciprocal feasts between the two parties in which grievances are arbitrated and valuable goods exchanged as gifts and indemnities. Such a procedure also characterized the Apayao peace pacts in which Dominican Fray Pedro Jiménez participated in the 1680's, and it is probably such a pact-holder whom Father José Tomás Marín refers to as a native *Maestro de Campo* in the same river valley in 1741. The actual stipulations agreed to during these palavering exchanges are defined in what the Kalingas call the *Pagta*, and are nowadays committed to writing in Ilocano or English. The final development of the Kalinga system occurred during the early 20th century under the impetus of Lieutenant Governor Walter Franklin Hale who, to enhance American control of local custom law, required every region to hold a peace pact with every other region. It is this refinement which causes the modern Kalinga to believe—somewhat fondly, perhaps—that peace, law, and order can be maintained throughout the sub-province by an interlocking network of bilateral non-aggression pacts.

The modern *Pagta*, with its formal articles set down in writing, naturally invites comparison with the 1820 peace pact. Kalinga peace pacts invariably state the names of the covenanting parties, the boundaries of its jurisdiction, and a brief code of laws covering murder, wounding, theft, hospitality, and sexual misconduct. It will immediately be noted that the 1820 pact satisfies all these requirements except the last—perhaps because Igorot-Ilocano relations were strictly business. In particular, the stipulation that a thief shall restore twice the value of the stolen goods is a standard Kalinga judgment, and the requirement that Igorot visitors to Bangar and Tagudin must be received in the homes of the *babak-nang*—literally, "the wealthy"—would certainly meet *Pagta* hospitality standards. Moreover, in the matter of rhetoric, the Bangar-Tagudin willingness to pay the indemnity while denying the

guilt has a fine Kalinga ring—though probably no *Pagta* would commit the obfuscation to writing so baldly. All in all, therefore, it would seem that the 1820 document is an example of a stage of development in a valid Filipino tradition which extends from modern Kalinga back to 1528 when Alvaro de Saavedra first drew blood in Sarangani Bay with some Filipino chieftain whose name is lost to history.

A Note on the Text and Translation. A few words in the Ilocano text are Spanish. We have been unable to locate any meaning for *bajar* in *Kakapitan Bajar*, but the Spanish superscription indicates that these Filipino officials were *Gobernadorcillos*. Likewise, the *Kakapitan ti Barangay* of the text are shown to be *Cabezas de Barangay*. *Picota*, technically “a pillar or column of stone or masonry they had at the entrance to certain places where the heads of the executed and condemned were exposed,” we have rendered more delicately as “whipping post.” *Extraviadores* are literally those who lead astray, but other early 19th century documents indicate that these were “shysters” or “embezzlers” such as lowland traders who mulcted ignorant mountaineer customers, so we have translated, “unlicensed peddlers.” The proscriptions which employ these terms, incidentally—25 lashes for receiving a visitor and a thirty-peso fine for harboring “apostate Christians,” that is, lowlanders who take to the hills—reflects a government reaction to the Filipinos’ constant attempts to escape the stern hand of colonial law and order.

The Ilocano of the text is understandably archaic, and sometimes confused. It is recorded in an orthography which appears quaint to the modern eye, and proceeds for four pages in one almost unbroken sentence—as equivalent Spanish documents of the period also do. The signatures occupy another four pages. Not including those of the certifying priests, there are 60 names, mostly of Spanish origin—e.g., Arzadún, Castro, López, Villanueva—executed with the grand flourishes the Spaniards call *rúbricas*. The 18 Igorot names—such as Ayaon, Dagtayan, Lumas-i, Sao-anan or Tilitil—all executed in the scribe’s penmanship, are listed under the towns of Bacong, Batugan, Bulibay, Cagubatan, Ibato, Kayan, Lapang, Luconan, and Taba-ao.

We have modernized the Ilocano orthography and broken the text into paragraphs for more convenient reading and to give the appearance of a modern legal document. The first two paragraphs are given below in the original orthography, however, as a sample for those who may be interested.

Dacami,daguiti Cacapitan Bajar cadaguiti Yli ataguding quen
Bangar, D.ⁿ Agustin de Valencia Then.^{tes} maiores D. Fernando

Bernave, quen D. Matheas Morales Mupez Cacapitan pasados quen daddomapay a Babacnang, a Cap. ti Barang.^y cadaguiti sinao a' Yli, Agsipud iti ysacsacang ti tribunal iti Yli a taguding, ni D. Agustin Decdec, Panglacayan quet agturay cada-guiti Igorot a sacopna iti lugar amanagan Cay-ang, Cagubatan, Bago, quen dadomapay Rancheros daguiti Padada a Ygorot, quet quinamet ti Mt^{re} de Campo iti Rancheria amanagan Lap-angan, ani D. Paad, tapinalaoagda amauisorotda iti naimbag a Aramid quen nalaing a Ornos amaipupon nagtuqueng ti panaga allatio, agapo iti ipapatay ti maisa a Ygor.¹ ay Bago, ani Lambino, tanatay iti lugar amanagan Ambalayay, a daya, quet lacam ti Yli ataguding idi taoen a sangarevo ochogasut sangapolo quet Pito...

Translation

WE, the *Gobernadorcillos* of the towns of Tagudin and Bangar, Don Simón de los Reyes and Don Agustín de Valencia, *Tenientes Mayores* Don Fernando Bérnabe and Don Mathias Morales López, the *Capitanes Pasados*, and several other prominent persons who are the *Cabezas de Barangay* of the said towns:

WHEREAS, there have appeared in the courthouse of Tagudin Don Agustín Decdec, elder and leader of the Igorots whose territory is in the places called Kayán, Cagubatan and Bago, and several other Igorot farmers and also the *Maestro de Campo* of the settlement called Lap-angan, Don Paad, to declare their willingness to accept just and lawful decision concerning the suspension of free travel in these parts resulting from the death of one Lambino, Igorot of Bago, who died in the place called Ambalayay, to the east of, but still within the jurisdiction of, the town of Tagudin, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen;

AND, WHEREAS, we, the two towns, similarly wish that the places which have been violated should be exonerated, and the old customs be restored so that we can go to the places of the Igorots, and they come to us;

THEREFORE, we, the two towns, have agreed to come to this place called Sagat, and with us also, the Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Hernández, Prior and Missionary of the town of Tagudin, because of his mercy and desire to institute good law and order among us, and to prevent all quarrels with the Igorots.

There has been fighting because of the death of the said Lambino, and the Igorots claim that he died of his wounds, but many of us from Tagudín attest that he died of a sickness that befell him. And although we from Tagudín are grieved that they demand Eighty Pesos as a consolation for the relatives of the deceased, we consent, in consideration of our desire that the old custom of free travel without danger from the Igorots be restored, to give the said Decdec and his companions the amount of Fifty Pesos for the deceased, and an additional Thirty Pesos because they claim that this sum belonging to the said Lambino was lost when he died. But this will not all be given in cash, but some of it in textiles. It will be given to the said Decdec and Paad in the presence of the said Very Reverend Father Prior, of us from Tagudín and Bangar, and of the Igorots from Bacong and several other settlements of Igorots and new Christians. And these things are given not as payment for the life and money of the deceased, but because of our desire that the Igorots will come to our towns again so that they grow accustomed to giving recognition to the King, our Lord (whom God bless), and, above all, to accept our sacred Faith, and also so that they will not repeat any killing of us Christians, as they did when they killed one of our townsmen from Bangar, Pedro Lusano, with arms and by stealth, he having been killed, in December of the year in which Lambino died, in a place called Balingaong, which is Igorot territory but belongs to the jurisdiction of Bangar. Thus they took their revenge on one from Bangar for one who died in the territory of Tagudin. But even so, we wish to live in peace and accept the institution of law and order.

AND, the said Decdec and Paad having received the money, and the Very Reverend Father Prior Francisco Hernández having witnessed and confirmed the agreement and peace pact with the Igorots, he ordered that a Cross be erected here in this place called Sagat as a sign of the boundary with the Igorots. We from Bangar shall be responsible for the territory south of the [Am-burayan] River, and to the east of us, the boundary of the Igorot territory shall begin in a place called Godel, and, going south, follow the crest of the mountains, including the places called Takima, Lolonga, and Balay Silet. West of this line shall be the jurisdiction of our town, and the Igorots must take responsibility east of this line, and also east of the said Cross in the territory north of the [Río Chico] Creek. Those from Tagudín shall be responsible for the territory north of the River eastward as far as the

said Cross, including the places east of their town. This is the boundary we have agreed to with the Igorots.

If someone should die because of wounds, we agree that only the place where it happened shall be obliged to pay Fifty Pesos to the relatives of the deceased, as was done according to the pacts and treaties of past years, but legal action shall be taken against the place where the killing occurred without delay so that fighting not break out. Likewise, with this pact we agree not to prevent the collection from the debtors of the amount they owe.

We also agree that patrols shall be stationed in the place called Apadi, and that over the River to the northeast, it shall be the duty of Tagudin to patrol, and below the River, to the southwest, those from Bangar, so that thieves will be prevented from bringing animals and other contraband upstream.

We, the two towns, will not receive [unregistered] visitors, and if there are any who do, they shall be given 25 lashes at the whipping post, as is the custom. The Igorots likewise promise that they will not let thieves stay in their places, or hide stolen animals and other things of value there, and that if one is caught with such things, he shall be fined twice the value of the stolen goods. And they also will not receive visitors in their place, especially unlicensed peddlers, to the detriment of good law and order. The Igorots, moreover, are ordered that, if any apostate Christians should be found in their places, they must apprehend them at once, and that if, after due investigation, it is found that they have permitted them to remain at large, they shall be fined Thirty Pesos.

We also agree that when the Igorots are in our towns they shall stay in the houses of prominent people, and not in the houses of people who are not respected, so that their stay will be safe and that they will not have their things stolen.

THIS PACT we have made in the presence of the said Father, and we request him, and also our Very Reverend Father Prior of Bangar, Fray Manuel Gonzáles, to make the documents in five copies, two of which shall be taken by the two towns, by the two priests, and one shall be given to the Igorots.

AND WE, the *Gobernadorcillos*, *Tenientes Mayores*, *Capitanes Pasados*, and the several other prominent persons, all *Cabezas de Barangay*, sign it with our names, and the witnesses who are our companions all verify it, this fourteenth day of January of the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

Text

DAKAMI dagiti Kakapitan Bajar kadagiti ili a Tagunding ken Bangar, D. Simon de los Reyes ken D. Agustin de Valencia Ten.^{tes} mayores D. Fernando Bernabe, ken D. Matheas Morales Lopez, Kakapitan pasados, ken dadduma pay a Babaknang, a Kap. ti Barang, kadagiti sinao a ili:

AGSIPUD iti isaksaklang ti tribunal iti ili a Tagudin ni D. Agustin Dekdek, panglakayen ket agturay kadagiti Igorot a sakopna iti lugar a managan Kay-ang, Cagubatan, Bago, ken dadduma pay a rancheros ken dagiti padada a Igorot; ket kina met ti Mstre. de Campo iti rancheria a managan Lap-angan a ni Don Paad. Ta pinalawagda a makisurotda iti naimbag a aramid ken nalaing a ornos a maipon nagtukeng ti panagallativ a gapu iti ipapatay ti maysa a Igorot a Ibago, a ni Lambino; ta natay iti lugar a managan Ambalayay, a daya ken lak-am ti ili a Tagudin, idi tawen a sangaribo, ocho gasut, sangapolo ket pito;

KET AGSIPUD iti padapadakami a dua a ili a agkalikagum a mangdalus kadagiti lugar a natalawan, ken iti met pannakasubli ti daan a kadawyan a pannakabalinmi a mapan iti lugar dagiti Igorot, ket kastada met kadagiti ilimi;

TIMPOYUGMI a dua a ili ti inmay ditoy lugar a managan Sagat. Ken itoy met MRP Fr. Fran.^{co} Hernandez, Prior ken Mstre. ti Doctrina iti ili a Tagudin, a gapu iti kaasina ken ayatna a mangisungsung kadakami iti nalaing a ornos, ken di pannakapalnuay dagiti addu a susik kadagiti Igorot.

Iti pannakaaramid ti ringor iti ipapatay ni sinao a Lambino. Palawagen dagiti Igorot a natay a gapu iti pannakasugatna. Ket addu met ti agdatag kadakami a Itaguding a natay a gapu ta iti dimmateng a sakitna. Ket no pay naldaang ti nakenmi a Itagudin iti panagdawat dagiti simaklang iti Walo Pulo a Pesus a pangliwliwa kadagiti partes ti natay, ipoonmi iti ayatmi a maisubli ti daan a kadawyan a panagallativ nga awan ti peggad kadakuada a Igorot, annurotenmi a yawat ken sinao a Dekdek ken kaduana ti Lima Pulo a Pesos a biang ti natay, ken Tallo Pulo pay a Pesos, a palawagen dagiti simaklang a napukaw a pirak ni sinao a Lambino idi ipapatayna. Ngem saan a pasig a pirak-ab-abel ti dadduma. Ket maaramid ti pannakayawatna kada sinao a Dekdek ken Paad iti saklang ti sinao a MRP Prior, dakami a Itagudin ken

Ibangan, Igorot a Ibakong ken dadduma pay a rancherias dagiti Igorot ken bago a Cristianos. Ngem dagiti a maited di maipoon iti pagbayad iti biag ken pirak ti natay, ngem gapu laeng iti ayatmi a mangisungsung kadagiti Igorot iti yaaday kadagiti ilimi, tapno ammoenda a anamongan ti Apo nga Hari (a Dios ti aluadna), ket nangrona ti Sto. a Pammati, ken tapno dida surnadan ti mamapatay kadagiti a Cristiano. Nga kas iti liput a naramidda, a pammapatayda iti kailianmi a Iban-gar, a ni Pedro Lusano, ta natay iti armas iti lugar a managan Balingaong, a lak-am kadagiti Igorot a ipangutang, a lak-am ti ili a Bangar idi bulan ti Diciembre idi tawen a ipapatay ni sinao a Lambino. Ta imbalesda iti Ibanagar ti natay iti lak-am ti ili a Tagudin. Ngem nupay kasta, agsaodkami laeng iti na-talna iti pannakisurot iti pannakaaramid ti nalaing a ornos ken kapia.

KET ITI kalpasan ti pangawat da sinao a Dekdek ken Paad iti sinao a pirak, ket mainatangan ket mapnekan unay iti sinao a MRP Prior Fr. Fran.^{co} Hernandez ti nalaing a pannakaaramid ti panagtimpuogmi ken panagkakappiami kadagiti Igorot, imbi-linna ti pannakabangon ti maysa a Cruz ditoy lugar a managan Sagat, a tanda ti pagbebeddenganmi kadagiti Igorot. Ket iti abagatan ti Karayan ti biangmi a Ebangar ti aywanan. Ket iti pannipodanmi iti daya a pakibeddengan kadagiti Igorot iti lugar a managan Godel, umabagatan dagiti panpantok dagiti banbantay, agtungpal kadagiti lugar a Takima. Lolonga ken Balay Silet; ket iti laud dagitoy a lugar agtungpal iti ilimi, ket dagiti Igorot biangda met a ayowan ti daya dagiti naipalawag a luglugar, ken daya met ti sinao a Cruz, nga umamianan iti Karayan a Bassit. Ket dagiti Itaguding iti met bangar ti Karayan iti amianan a agpadaya a agtungpal met iti sinao a Cruz, ken dagiti luglugar iti daya ti ilida. Ta dagitoy a panagbebeddeng a nagpanugotanmi kadagiti Igorot.

No kas addanto mattay, anno maranggaran kadakami, a agtutulag idinto met laeng akinlak-am ti rumbeng a mangted iti Lima Pulo a Pesos kadagiti partes ti matay, kas naaramid kadagiti suplak ken tulag kadagiti napalabes a tawen. Ket maisagana met iti justicia a akinlak-am ti pakatayan ti matay ti mangakop, tatapno awanto ti duadua, anno susik a maara-mid iti dina pannakaimatang. Kasta met daytoy a tulag tim-puogmi a di makatubeng, iti panagsingir kadagiti a mantang iti rebbengda a bayadan iti nagpautang.

Kasta met a timpuogmi a isaad dagiti rondas iti lugar a managan Apadi, ket iti bangir ti Karayan, iti amianan a du-maya, biangmi a Itaguding; ket iti bangir ti Karayan iti abagatan ken dumaya met, ti ayowanang dagiti Ibanagar tatapno

matubeng dagiti mananakaw a agissurong kadagiti animal ken dadduma pay a maiparit.

Ket awan met ti makabalin kadakami a dua a ili a mangisurong kadagiti sangsangaili. Ket no addanto masarongkaran, masaplitto iti duapolo ket lima a maisakab picota, a kadaywan. Ket inkari met dagiti Igorot a dida palas-uden kadagiti lugarda dagiti mananakaw ken mataktakaw a animales ken dadduma pay a adda pateгна ta no addanto masukalan, dobliendanto a bayadan iti rebbeng a pateг ti tinakaw. Ket didanto met palas-uden iti lugarda dagiti sangsangaili, ta mapadasan a luttuadan ti makadadael iti nalainг a ornos. Ket nangrona kadagiti estraviadores, Ket maibilin met kadagiti Igorot ta no addanto agpapaing a Cristiano iti ilida, dagusendanto a baluden. Ket na baybay-anda, iti no vario a pakasukainan, madusanto iti Tallo Pulo a Pesos.

Kasta met a tulagmi kadagiti Igorot nga iti kaaddadat di-toy ilimi, agdagusda iti balay dagiti babaknang, ket dida agdagus kadagiti kakailian a di gawgawayen dagiti tao, tatapno maispal dagiti pagdagusanda iti dida pannakarangranggas, ken dipannakataktakaw dagiti kukuada.

KASTA MET timpuyogmi a maimatangan toy sinao a Padre, ket dawatenmi a ipaayna a certificacionan. Ken iti met MRP Priormi ili a Bangar, Fr. Manuel Gonzales. Ket maarmid a agkalima. Ta iti dua, agsinsinkami a dua a ili. Ket iti dua agsinsin met dagiti dua a papadre. Ket iti maysa maited kadagiti Igorot;

*KET firmaanmi a nainaganan a Kakap.ⁿ Bajar, Ten.^{tes} mayores, Kakap.ⁿ passados ken dadduma pay a babaknang a Kakap.ⁿ ti Barang.ⁿ, ket patalgeden dagiti saksi a mangadkadua kadakami ita a sangapulo ket uppat ti Enero, sangaribu ocho gasut ket dua pulo ti tawen.**

*Note: The Spanish certification by the two witnessing priests gives the date as January 24, 1820.

Colonial Whip

A FILIPINO RESPONSE TO FLOGGING IN 1835

On February 17, 1835, the people of Tagudin, Ilocos Sur, filed a complaint in Vigan against their parish priest, requesting his replacement because of the excessive number of floggings he had ordered during his two years' tenure in that town. The complaint is preserved in a thick file of related documents in both Spanish and Ilocano marked *Carpeta 2ª Número 1º*, in the National Archives, Section *Provincias*, Ilocos Sur Bundle 14, and is presented here in translation.

The complaint itself cites the cases of a former Chief Constable who received 300 lashes, and two citizens working off their public service in the Convento who each received almost 100, and appends a list several pages long of men who have been flogged and women slapped—some of them as many as 50 times. To their reports of sheer maltreatment, the petitioners add the facts that many of those who have been flogged like common criminals were appointed town officials, and that the community's own *gobernadorcillos*, far from having intervened on their behalf in the name of justice, were the very ones who carried out the Friar's excessive orders. The document is written with considerable passion and even includes a veiled threat (Do not the tamest carabaos turn against their masters if whipped too much?) and is a nice display of the command of rhetoric in their own tongue which the provincial gentry enjoyed in the early 19th century. And it is a clear Filipino response to flogging.

The complaint does not question the institution of flogging itself but only its misapplication. The Filipino people by 1835 had learned to live with flogging for a dozen generations, and the *picota*, or whipping post, was an ordinary fixture of the colonial town plaza and is mentioned often enough in official Spanish documents. Tagudin's own *picota*, for example, appears in a peace-pact which that town made with the Igorots in 1820—*viz.*, "We, the two towns, will not receive [unregistered] visitors, and if there are any who do, they shall be given 25 lashes at the *picota*,

as is the custom."¹ Sometimes, however, to impress a larger audience, the culprit was whipped through the streets. Thus on February 20, 1762, a certain Juan Damay of Piat, Cagayan, who had been apprehended distributing subversive literature from Diego Silang, was paraded through the main streets of Nueva Segovia (Lallo) on a carabao while official flogger Francisco Zamorano laid on 200 strokes.²

The Tagudin example being presented here does not represent an isolated case. Dominican Fray Romualdo Aguado recorded the following case in Ilagan, Isabela, during the same century:

When the English were in possession of the capital of the Archipelago, there was an Ilocano traitor, sold out to those foreigners, who managed to arouse the Province of Ilocos, the mob rising up against the upper class, the Spaniards, and even the clergy. Some emissaries came from Ilocos to stir up the Provinces of Cagayan and the Missions. The laboring class of Ilagan, who are said by all those who have dealt with them to be the best in these provinces, seemed to have been won over because of some little grievances, so when Father Vicente de Castro heard about it, he tried to do whatever he could to prevent them from being carried away by a few malcontents. So he called those old men who had the most influence to the Convento, and pointed out to them the evil which they would commit in revolting against the Faith and the King and the dire consequences which would result from it. They replied that they were not contemplating any such thing and that they cherished the Holy Faith which had brought them out of the darkness of their paganism, and, moreover, respected and obeyed the King and his representatives; but that they could no longer endure the way the *gobernadorcillos* and *principales* treated them like slaves, flogging them without mercy for the least fault, and that they had decided to put an end to this tyranny by giving them a good lesson.

The Father therefore thought they were considering some massacre of the upper class, and so preached to them a long time to dissuade them from their intention, but they replied that they had already made up their minds to carry out what they had planned, but that he should fear nothing. It was the 2nd of February, 1763, Candlemas, and after mass the whole town gathered in the plaza, and one of the old men shouted, "Now!—the *gobernadorcillo* to the whipping post!"

¹ Flameygh and Scott, "An Ilocano-Igorot Peacepact of 1820," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 26 (1978), No. 3.

² Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan* (Manila 1918), p. 80.

Whereupon, three or four of the huskiest came out of the crowd and, seizing him, held him down across a boat and administered 25 lashes in the way he was accustomed to do with the commoners [*caillanes*]. Then they did the same with the *Cabezas*, and with that they were satisfied.³

Of course, the Spaniards did not invent flogging as a means of controlling their Filipino subjects; it was an old and accepted part of their own penal tradition. Among Spaniards, however, it was applied only to low-class law-breakers, not government officials—an attitude obviously absorbed by their hispanized subjects in Tagudin who produced the 1835 document. But although it was not introduced for that purpose, flogging did prove to be a useful instrument for retaining control of the colony, not because of the pain inflicted but because of the manner in which it was inflicted—that is, by fellow Filipinos. For in this way Filipino resentment was directed not against their colonial masters but against those Filipinos who did their master's bidding, as the 1763 Ilagan case makes clear. And this reaction continued right up to the very end of the Spanish regime: the first thing the citizens of Bacolod City did after the revolutionary forces raised the Philippine flag on November 6, 1898, was to run professional flogger Amos Holliza out of town.⁴

Renato Constantino once challenged Philippine historians with the remark, "Even that which is sometimes dismissed as a history of Spain by Spaniards can yield, if only indirectly, insights into the development of the native population."⁵ These examples of Filipino responses to flogging may give some such insight into the development of the Filipino people's political consciousness. For those in 1763 vented their wrath on their Filipino tormentors while expressing loyalty to the regime which was the root cause of that torment, and those in 1835 more clearly recognized the source of their suffering but only sought to have it transferred elsewhere. But the Filipinos of 1898 accurately analyzed the colonial process by which flogging had been introduced into the Archipelago and sought to rid themselves of it for all time.

³ Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela* (Manila 1918), pp. 72-74.

⁴ Ma. Fe Hernaez Romero, *Negros Occidental between Two Foreign Powers* (Bacolod City, 1974), p. 72, n. 7.

⁵ "Gaps in Philippine History," 1970, reprinted in Constantino, *Insight and Foresight* (Quezon City, 1977), p. 6.

Translation

Lord Governor:

Nicolas Bautista and Vicente Gabriel, married and tribute-payers of the Town of Tagudin, we, with the peaceful petition and other requirements which we bring with us, do appear before you in proper order and deepest humility, and declare:

That when the petition referred to is translated into Castilian for your convenience, you will see that this Town of Tagudin finds itself at present under a painful and truly heavy burden for two years up to the present) caused by our Reverend Father Fray Juan Sorolla;

For he ordered one Ex-Chief Constable, namely Don Cipriano Manzano, to receive a penalty of almost 300 lashes; another two individuals performing their public service in that Convento, namely Nicolas Bautista (I, the first) and Adriano Pablo, he ordered to receive almost 100 lashes each; and that if all those flogged in the said Town should be taken into account and recalled, they will be 300 persons, more or less; and the least lashes which any received will be 25; to which may be added another number (which is no longer known) of women slapped, from both the gentry and the non-gentry, as you will be able to realize by the list of names of flogged, and women slapped, on pages 2 and ———; leaving unspecified here other cases of penalties and afflictions which you will find contained in the petition referred to on pages 3 and 4-v and in their copy on p. ———, all having occurred in only these past two years since the said Reverend Father came to us; for confirmation of which, and public or secret investigation, you can send a commission at your own convenience to the said Town;

And if in only the period of two years such damage has been done and so many floggings, which reached not only 50 or 100 lashes, but more than 100, and the slapping of the women up to 50, what will it be like, Sir, what will it be like if that Reverend Father should stay four or five years in the said Town? Will he not completely consume us and flay us alive through floggings? But leaving all this aside, we come, Sir, to the point of major consideration and weight:

Why were those six Constables, with two Chiefs and two Lieutenants, whose names are placed in the list on p. ———,

and for what reason or law ought they to have been castigated with lashes, the same as thieves while in the actual performance of their duties as Peace Officers, and for the slightest shortcomings? Why have the *Gobernadorcillos*, of the past two years and the present one, permitted that these their officers and subordinate Constables and Lieutenants should be flogged like thieves, there being other decent punishments appropriate to their role as Peace Officers? Why, Sir, did they not hold consultations about such excesses and such irregularities and inform this Superior Court for its appropriate action? The excesses already referred to of more than 100 lashes, of which it would appear that the *Gobernadorcillos* could not have been uninformed because of the nature of their office, and to subject Peace Officers, do they not make them then, Sir, common criminals, or utter criminals?

Another point of complaint or claim which that community of Tagudin has against the three *Gobernadorcillos* referred to, past and present, namely, Don Bartolomé Manuel, Don Eusebio Manuel, and Don Andrés Manuel, is their not having wished to defend us from such castigation, but that, rather, they were the executors of all the orders of the said Father; which complaint is what is being presented to you now for such correction as you should decide on as being suitable for an example to others.

Is it possible, Lord Governor, that that miserable population should suffer such cruelty and pain? Are we not civilized men, faithful Christians and loyal tribute-paying vassals of the Royal Crown of Spain? Is it not manifest that we always manage to comply with the [duties of the] Church, hearing Mass and sermons, confessing and receiving Communion, and paying gold and the stipend every year? And if it is so, Sir, why such severity? The Tinguians and Igorots of that jurisdiction of Tagudin who already desire to come and be Christianized, will they not be frightened and driven away with such reports of severity and floggings?

In similar cases of severity so harsh, it may please you to call to mind what is wont to happen with carabaos, that however tame they may be, they attack even their own masters when these maltreat them and apply rod and whip too often. (God forbid, Sir, God forbid that such misery should reach that extent in that unhappy Town, and with more dire things afterwards!)

Therefore, that poor community asks and supplicates that it may please you to solicit from our Most Excellent Lord Bishop that he deign to replace our aforesaid Father Minister with

another who will treat us like sons, the only remedy so the well-disposed and maltreated men of that poor Town should no longer suffer so crushing a burden; and that you so urge that said Most Excellent Lord Bishop, by means of our kissing and washing his kind feet with tears, and your own solicitude, our Governor, that he should be pleased to grant these his poor sheep the favor they beg; and for this we swear in the name and spirit of the said community, not proceeding from malice, and with all else necessary, etc.

NICOLAS BAUTISTA
VICENTE GABRIEL

In the Superior Court of Vigan on
the seventeenth of February of the
year one thousand eight hundred
thirty-five.

I sent it to the Interpreter so that it might be understood. Thus the Superior Justice, the Governor, disposed, ordered, and signed, to which I bear witness.

CALDERON

Before me,

ANTONIO MARIA REGIDOR

Semper's "Kalingas" 120 Years Later

In May of 1860 a young German naturalist by the name of Carl Semper hiked over the Sierra Madre mountains from Palanan with a small safari of Filipino cargadores and spent a week among a little-known tribe in the headwaters of the Katalangan River which flows into the Pinakanawan River in the present municipal center of San Mariano, Isabela. A brief letter he wrote from Aparri which was published in Vol. 10 of the *Zeitschrift fuer Allgemein Erdkunde* the next year contains the only description of these people in ethnographic literature. According to this description, they were a typical Filipino "cultural minority"—growing their own food, smithing their own tools, practicing their own religious rites, decorating their artifacts with distinctive designs, and trading forest products for metal and salt. But their religion was already suffering attrition, they dressed like lowlanders and wove no cloth of their own, and apparently did not make war either among themselves or with their neighbors. They thus appear to have been in 1860 on the outer edge of the acculturative process by which their Gaddang and Ibanag neighbors had shifted from minority to majority status a century earlier.

Curious to see the continuation or results of this process 120 years later, I spent the second week of April, 1978, in the upstream hamlets of Diboloan, Dilumi, Andarayan, Kadsalan and Ambabuk in the same area.*

The people in question were called Kalingas then and are called Kalingas now, although they are referred to in Spanish records as Catalanganes, a term still applied to their easternmost dialect. *Kalinga*—pronounced with the *ng* of *singer*, not *finger*—is the Ibanag word for "enemy" and was applied to pagans in the moun-

*The author wishes to express his thanks to Mayor Carlos Domelod, ex-Mayor Jose Miranda, and Mr. Rogelio Miranda of San Mariano, Isabela, Councilor Jesus Corpus of Barrio Disulap, and Mr. Ipiyak Impiel of Sitio Dilumi for their hospitality, cordiality, and assistance in collecting data for this paper.

tains and foothills on both sides of the Cagayan River all during the Spanish regime. It is still used by Ilocanos in Isabela to refer to their immediate mountaineer neighbors. There is no tribal or linguistic connection between these "Kalingas" and the people of the subprovince of that name in Kalinga-Apayao, however, nor would any observer familiar with both of them think so. Quite the opposite, I was unable to distinguish "Kalingas" from Ibanags or Ilocanos by physical features alone. Much less could I recognize, or give credence to, Semper's view that their eyes, stature, and skull type betray an ultimate Chinese or Japanese origin.

Semper had spent a week among the Negritos on the Pacific side of the mountains before crossing over, and concluded that the Negritos he saw in Katalangan were new arrivals because he observed no Kalinga-Negrito mestizos among them. By this test, there must be such intermarriage today. Two of about a dozen Negrito women and children I saw were a warm chocolate brown instead of black and one was as yellow as if jaundiced, while an otherwise typical Kalinga in a G-string was a dull charcoal black. (A man of direct Kalinga-Negrito parentage I met in San Mariano had the mixed features one would expect except in one particular—he was taller than the average Kalinga.) Moreover, three items in a Katalangan word list recorded in Dilumi were considered to be Negrito terms by more sophisticated informants in Disulap—*panyána* (how), *sitbing* (near) and *dumékel* (to swell up).

These Negritos inhabit the forest close to Kalinga settlements and show up with wild game in season to barter for corn and other agricultural products. They seem to have an ambivalent reputation among the Kalingas. On the one hand, they are characterized as timid and retiring in their relations with non-Negritos, but, on the other, as hostile or even dangerous in their own forest haunts. The leading citizen of Dilumi believes that his grandfather was killed early in the century by a Negrito arrow for no other reason than "that's what they do when they want you to move." They are reported to fasten red-cloth warnings along the trails when they are at war among themselves, and collect cash from travelers who wish to pass through. The "wars" themselves presumably arise from a custom which requires mourning relatives to take a life following a death in their family. One Kalinga readily translated *mangáyaw* for me, the pan-Philippine term for head-taking or slave-raiding, as "to fight," but all others were quick to volunteer the information that this was a Negrito word unknown to Ilocanos, Ibanags or Kalingas.

The word *mestizo* now refers mainly to Ibanag-Kalingas who, together with Ibanags and Ilocanos, outnumber "pure" Kalingas

about four to one. These non-Kalinga settlers generally farm swiddens the same as Kalingas do, although there are more permanent farms between Disulap and Minanga, and I saw one plow in Diboloan. Semper refers to such non-Kalinga intrusion as "*Tagalische*"—and deplors its influence as lazy and untidy: e.g., they make simple roofs of bamboo instead of thatching them, and just throw the garbage out the door. But he must be using the term to mean lowlanders in general since even today San Mariano's Tagalog population is so small its families are easily named and counted. Spanish references to short-lived Dominican and Franciscan missionary efforts in the 1750's give no hint of outside migration, but in the 19th century become rather emotional about the movement of "lawless" elements from Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya—that is, Filipinos rejecting tribute-paying vassal status. Several punitive expeditions were sent in to flush them out, and a Royal Order in 1897 attempted to accomplish the same goal by reestablishing the defunct missions.

Aggressive Ilocano migration began only in this century, but now constitutes a dominating element both in agriculture and in ventures requiring capital investment. English-speaking informants frequently referred to the dispossession of Kalingas by lowland immigrants, but I was unable to locate any specific examples. The Ilocano, Ibanag, Kalinga-*mestizo* and one Bikolano settlers in Ambabuk, for example, where most of them are employed in logging concessions, found the site unoccupied 12 years ago. Settlers of whatever origin seem to move around in the normal course of swidden farming without dispossessing anybody. Kalinga *mestizos* from Minanga have recently settled in Kadsalan to be near the facilities of a log pool (whose personnel come mainly from Tarlac), while others moved to both Disulap and Andarayan for their wider tracts of land. On the other hand, many Kalingas have shifted westward to be nearer the markets for their produce. The logging concessions themselves, however, are held by high-ranking military officers not resident in the province.

Semper found G-strings only in the more remote settlements, and I saw them only in Dilumi, small and made of plain white cloth purchased in town. Little bags hanging from the neck for betelnut are also made of this cloth but are evidently different from the large bags Semper mentions when describing the Kalingas as passionate chewers. The distended ear lobes of Semper's days with as many as six earrings in each, have disappeared: Kalinga women now have their ears pierced in modern Filipina fashion, and the men not at all. I was shown some heirloom earrings more than an inch in diameter, a quarter-inch thick, and hollow,

which were made of some thin sheetmetal like tin with a brassy tint; these are probably what Semper refers to as "badly gold-plated earrings" obtained from Christian or Chinese peddlers at exploitative prices. Some women also retain inherited necklaces of small glass and porcelain beads of many colors, and every man in a G-string was wearing a choker of the same sort. Semper mentions tattooing—which has completely disappeared—but not teeth decorating, and colored wicker strings and brass coils binding the wasp-waists of both sexes, a practice formerly esteemed in the lower Chico valley of Kalinga-Apayao and still found among Ilongots.

In consonance with his thesis of a Mongolian origin for the Kalingas, Semper says they tattoo themselves with Chinese characters, and that their other decorations display a similar source of inspiration. Unfortunately, I was unable to test this analysis by direct observation since I saw no indigenous designs of any kind save a simple crisscross border done in white paint on the edge of a prayer shelf in one house, and a very pleasing design of repeated diamonds carved in high relief around the wooden cylinders of a small forge in Diboloan. The forge itself was dismantled, but its feather-lined pistons still functioned perfectly. It had belonged to the grandfather of the present smith whose only available samples of workmanship were metal sheathing on some sticks and grubbing hoes for swiddening. (I don't know what to make of Semper's further reference to smithies being found in practically every house—"die Schmeide, die fast in keinem Hause fehlt.")

The Katalangan River provides a natural route to Palanan, and Semper's barrio Ambabuk is still the last settlement before cresting the Sierra Madres—as it was during Military Governor Mariano Oscáriz's incursions of the 1850's—while the last public school is in barrio Disulap just northeast of the river junction at Minanga. The national highway ends at Disulap—"Km. 420"—but Diboloan, Dilumi, Andarayan, Kadsalan and Ambabuk are all accessible during the February-to-August logging season by motor trails across which loggers haul *apitong*, *lawaan*, *mayapis*, *narra* and *tanguili* to sawmills in San Mariano. The slopes are less precipitous than on the Cordillera Central: Semper noted their rich red soil, and all six of the barrios mentioned above are on navigable streams. Semper said the air was fragrant with the odor of blossoms which nourished the bees that provide one of the major Kalinga trade items, and the fertility of the valley is still impressive. Despite at least two centuries of slash-and-burn swidden farming and 20 years of logging so intensive the sound of power saws was audible in most sitios, I saw no significant

areas of cogon grass or raw erosion. Where the hillsides were not actually smoldering with the fires of new swiddens, they were densely covered with either centuries-old timber or thick bamboo groves and hectares of bananas. Isolated hardwood trees and logs, rejected by cutters and still burning from swidden fires, were surrounded by green grass, undergrowth, and banana plants.

Semper found no more than five or six houses in any one settlement, and this has remained the preferred Kalinga housing pattern up to the present. The 12- and 13-house clusters I observed in Dilumi and Ambabuk were responses to pressure exerted by the Philippine Army as part of its counterinsurgency strategy. Modern Kalinga architecture conforms exactly to Semper's description of 1860:

Their houses are small and low, most of them made of bamboo and rattan; no nails are found in them—everything is tied together. The houseplan is very simple—a rather long rectangle with the kitchen at one end with a square area next to it unenclosed but under the same roof; the interior and the kitchen form only one room with the kitchen being separated from the main room only by a crossbeam showing through the floor. Next to the kitchen a ladder, which is taken in at night, leads up from the little open space under the roof, where the *pilan* stands for pounding rice. As a rule there are only two windows in each of the long sides of the house, and to one of these a small extension is attached, a kind of small store-room. The roofs are well constructed in such a way that the edges are rounded off, which they achieve in a very simple manner and whereby it has the advantage that the grass they use for thatching, as long as eight feet overall, lies parallel. During my four-week stay I did not see them thatch a single roof. Bamboo roofs are rarer; these are slightly inclined, the split bamboos being placed with one groove up, the next down, with the upper one fitting into the lower so there are just as many drainspouts spread along the width of the house as pieces of bamboo. They are very good protection against rain, but any strong wind easily dislodges them. The roof always completely encloses the room except for two little holes at the end of the ridgepole; but they provide no ventilation so the interior is always completely full of smoke above. Over the years such a lot of soot accumulates from the high density of the smoke that everything becomes shiny black.

Although Semper does not mention it, in the better houses the posts are hewn of hardwood—four on the kitchen side, four

down the middle, and three on the other side—with large carved pegs mortised into them to support the floor beams. The walls are made of interlocking half-sections of bamboo placed vertically. None of the houses I saw were older than 15 years, yet many had been abandoned instead of being repaired, a new one frequently standing right alongside the old one. Non-Kalinga informants believed that Kalingas never repair a house or salvage material from the old one for constructing a new one, and it was indeed the case that among the two dozen houses I examined closely, only once did I find even the smallest repair made with fresh rattan lashing. Considering the investment in labor which these structures represent, such a custom would strongly suggest some forgotten taboo, perhaps one requiring the abandonment of a house in which a death has occurred. Of course, entire settlements are regularly abandoned in the normal pursuit of swidden technology, perhaps after a decade or two, with the swiddens themselves being shifted around the nearby slopes every third or fourth year as the tough growth of cogon roots makes them uneconomical to replant.

Semper noted that rice and corn were stored in two different kinds of granaries, and this is still true. Corn is kept in simple bamboo cubicles with a flat sloping roof, but rice in rather elegantly fashioned structures with a gabled roof and triangular cross section. These latter stand on five-foot hardwood posts, square at the base but rounded above and fitted with a shoulder to receive a large disk-shaped rat guard. Two two-by-fours mortised into the top of the posts support the bamboo floor of the granary, and all these parts are tightly lashed together with rattan in neat symmetry. In the case of the two floor beams, these lashings pass through diamond-shaped holes chiseled through them, and then through cup-shaped recesses carved out of the post below with a little crossbar left intact to take the loops of the binding. With the exception of the two floor beams, all this carpentry has been accomplished without saw, drill or adze. The roof and the triangular ends are made of a thick, tightly bound cogon thatching.

Semper called the Kalingas good farmers, and praised their soil as productive, their fields as well-kept, and their houseyards as neat and clean. He listed rice, corn, sugar cane, camote, ubi, gabe, ginger and a superior quality of tobacco among their crops, but assessed swidden capacity as being insufficient for their total needs. Their apparent material comfort he attributed to their trade in wax and the fish which they caught with nets, hooks and lines, and bows and arrows or by poisoning the streams, and sold salted. Most of these observations would be appropriate to a set-

tlement like Dilumi today.

Dilumi stands some 2,000 feet above sea level on the crest of a small ridge between the Dilumi and Disosoap Creeks which flow into the Katalangan River. Its nearest neighbors are to be found three kilometers to the northeast in Andarayan on the banks of the Katalangan itself, with woods of mixed second growth and bamboo tangled with vines and rattan in between. A logging trail climbs up steeply from the west and disappears up an even sharper incline into the dark towering forests of the Sierra Madres to the east. The settlement occupies a relatively level site which was only logged off ten years ago, a fact completely obscured by its surrounding stands of bamboo, and neat houseyards with squash vines, banana plants, and coffee trees. In addition to a number of granaries and sheds, it contains twelve occupied houses and one abandoned, the better ones thatched with cogon and the poorer roofed with bamboo just as Semper said. Its 60-some inhabitants are all related, and the nearest thing they have to a village chief is a wise old man by the name of Ipiyak Impiel whose only son is in his 40's.

Ipiyak's father migrated into the area from Ambabuk early in the century after his own father had been killed by Negritos, and here Ipiyak married, paying no brideprice but performing a brief period of service for his father-in-law. After exhausting the local swidden potential, the family moved to Andarayan where there was more open space, especially convenient for their unpenned pigs and chickens. There his father died and was buried under the house as a sign of respect, and Ipiyak eventually returned to Dilumi to occupy the creekbank just below the present village. For a while prior to the introduction of chain-saws he worked as a sawyer, and still occasionally sells handhewn houseposts. He and his neighbors only recently moved into the present site in compliance with Army orders to concentrate, and will presumably not be permitted to continue their former migratory practices. This threatens some hardship since a swidden plot must be left fallow for at least eight years, and they will have to increase their trading activities to supplement the decrease in food crops. Two crops of corn can ordinarily be grown in the same swidden from which one crop of rice has been harvested, but this year has been so unusually dry that these crops are threatened, and even the gardens on the edge of the village are not being worked.

Ipiyak occupies the best-built house in the sitio, and its interior furnishings can be seen at a glance—two wooden chests and kapok pillows in one corner together with a few sleeping

mats woven in Dilumi, heavy handmade hunting nets hanging from the walls and elongated eel traps made by Ipiyak himself, thin cotton blankets thrown over a rattan clothesline among a few shirts and dresses, a handsome bolo and sheath peddled from central Luzon and a stone corn mill of a type no longer manufactured, and, tucked into the bamboo walling, a sprig of fresh sili pepper and an arrow with a graceful well-honed point Ipiyak hammered out of a six-inch nail with no more forge than a charcoal fire. Near the three-stone hearth in the kitchen were some clay cooking pots made in Santa Maria (Isabela) and a water jar with a spigot fired in, an assortment of spoons, glass tumblers and enamel plates, and suspended over it a few ears of drying seed corn and a container of salt. No religious paraphernalia was to be seen in the house but out in front were four little bamboo legs that once supported a tiny spirit house where Ipiyak used to make food offerings to the *anitos*. Around the house were a number of small wooden mortars of different designs and some four-foot lengths of bamboo for carrying water up from the spring, and hanging under it were almost a dozen pestles glossy from use. Near the door a whetstone and water bowl were set into the ground, and nearby stood separate granaries for rice and corn, and a few sheds for outdoor work and wood storage during the rainy season. All around were coffee trees in fragrant bloom.

The first time I saw Ipiyak, he was returning from the woods with a pair of homemade goggles around his neck, a string of small fish in one hand, and a rubber-band gun in the other which fires an arrow fashioned from the rib of an umbrella. The second time, he was carrying the looped cords of a snare for catching wild chickens, and had the domestic decoy under his arm. Neighboring children were carrying wicker fish traps and some box-like ones they made themselves out of bamboo and wire mesh. (Near Diboloan I noticed a dugout canoe with gracefully flaring sides used for carrying fishnets deeper into the stream; Semper says the Kalingas sold such boats in Ilagan for six or eight pesos.) Ipiyak also hunts for deer and wild boar—a long-legged beast with an elongated snout that can tear up swiddens like a miniature bull-dozer—either by himself with bow and arrow and dogs, or in hunting parties with dogs to drive the game into stout nets. He also barter meat from Negritos but not in sufficient quantity to constitute a regular or significant source of protein.

Dilumi's fields do not produce a year's supply of rice and never did. (I was served commercially polished rice, *bagoong*, and five-year-old Tanduay rum for lunch.) Evidence of its consequent dependence on trade were to be seen everywhere. Wild beeswax, a forest product traditionally used for stiffening the threads of

looms since prehispanic times, has been replaced in importance by bananas, although the accompanying honey is now also marketed. Coffee is also a recent cash crop with trees planted between all the houses and a small coffee mill mounted on one houseporch. For moving the heavy bunches of bananas to the nearest creek for transportation downstream, Dilumi has as many carabao carts as houses—all with solid wooden wheels cut by hand—and tethered between Diboloan's 13 houses I noted six carabaos kept for the same purpose. Stacked up along the road were 20-foot lengths of four-inch *mabu* bamboo, tied together in bundles of about 25, ready to be dragged to the same creek where outside merchants will come upstream empty-handed, buy them for rafts, and then load them with bananas for the trip to markets in San Mariano or Ilagan. This traffic in bananas, bamboo and rattan, incidentally, is regulated under licensed government concessions.

There is little to show in Dilumi today for the extensive religious paraphernalia reported by Semper—sacred pots in a corner of the house and wooden tablets with what appeared to Semper to be Chinese characters engraved on them, little spirit houses and special carved benches consecrated out in front, and gongs to be played during religious ceremonies by suspending them from the belt while kneeling and beating them with both palms. Although I did not see them, such gongs still exist and are played in the manner described during festivals in which food offerings are made to *anito*-spirits. One house in Diboloan had two such blackened pots behind the door, and a broken-down spirit house in the yard—and such spirit houses also used to be erected in the fields. Of carvings there was no trace, although there was a bamboo bench in front of one house in Ambabuk with a sort of flagstaff attached from whose cross-arm two bits of white cloth fluttered. There was such a pole in Dilumi, too, and I was told they were common to most Kalinga settlements. No Kalinga informant seemed to know anything about the wooden tablets, but an elderly Ilocano of long residence remembered having seen some sort of boards incised with vague whorls and curved lines, but no figures, whether drawings or writing. All of these relics were explained as signs of respect for *anitos*, but it was rather indignantly denied that *anitos* had any connection with departed ancestors. Ipiyak himself said that he did not know what happens to the spirits of the deceased with a finality that discouraged further inquiry.

Perhaps the most interesting section of Semper's account is his description of this religion.

They are dedicated to a religious cult which, even as crude

as its present form is, still betrays the fact that it was brought here from abroad and did not spring from this soil. There are two pairs of gods—*Tsiehohonan* (male) and *Bebenangan* (female); and *Sialo* (male) and *Binalinga* (female); these are the only true gods, for whom they annually celebrate a general fiesta in a certain *ranchería*, where a house is consecrated to them, the same one in which the last priest *hantasan* and his wife *talamajau* lived. Since their death, they have been without a priest, and their entire cult is limited to the annual fiesta held in June. To these gods, big wooden tablets are dedicated, hung diagonally under the roof opposite the door and covered with written characters very reminiscent of Chinese. In one house I also saw a carved picture of a god. I regret that I lacked the time and patience to make a sketch of it, for later illness forced me to get away from this unhealthy region sooner than I had intended. Besides these four, they also have a multitude of others which are really housegods, called *anitos*. These are the souls of their ancestors, to whom they ascribe the function of protecting their houses and possessions after their death. The lore of these *anitos* is very complicated; in what follows I will try to bring together what I was able to gather in separate bits here and there. When a person dies, he can only be made an *anito* when he has grandchildren; then, however, he remains one for all descendants in the family. Thus it can happen that there are a multitude of *anitos* in the same house—that is to say, if the family has lived together in the same house for a long period of time, which is quite common here. If a son or daughter leaves the parental home, they remain without any *anito* until both parents die; then the children divide the available *anitos* among themselves, though certain ones always remain in the old house. When a married son dies without grandchildren, neither he and his wife nor his children will become *anitos*. Every *anito* will be called by the name which the bearer of the soul made into a housegod had during his lifetime. Certain objects and places are hallowed to these *anitos*. In one corner of the room stand *ollas* shaped like pot-bellied spittoons, which are consecrated to the oldest *anitos*; they watch over the house and the welfare of the whole family. In the open space before the house stand little houses a foot-and-a-half to two feet high, rough copies of the big ones; these are the dwellings of those oldest housegods. To the eldest among them, furthermore, the little open space in front of the ladder, where the *pilan* stands, is consecrated; it must not be defiled either by fire or food. Then one or more benches with certain orna-

mentation are found in the houseyard. One almost always has a long piece of bamboo and a small piece of wood at the upper end in the shape of a plain half-moon on whose wider part are (Chinese?) characters. These are consecrated to the younger *anitos*. Finally, even the smithy which is lacking in few houses belongs to an *anito*. When the grandfather of a large family dies, as many *anitos* will be made of him as he has sons who have founded new families—that is, as soon as these have children of their own. If there are many *anitos* in the same house, and the children separate at the death of their parents, they divide these among themselves, but the oldest ones always remain in the ancestral home. Also, it seems as if these may complete their services some time; at least, I was told several times when I asked the reason for the complete lack of those *ollas* in one old house, that they had just thrown out a bunch of them a short time before as being of no more use. Necklace and finery which they wear during their lifetime are kept sacred; people will not sell them at any price, and ascribe miraculous powers to them against all diseases. Also the *anitos* have fiestas at certain times—at the beginning of sowing and shortly after harvest. Then big fiestas will be organized to the *anitos*, and the best gifts of food and drink be gathered, and must not be touched until a little of every bowl has been offered to them.

Many of Semper's observations are ordinary characteristics of indigenous Philippine religions. Friar missionaries all during the Spanish regime noted conjugal pairs of Filipino deities and an ancestor worship directed to *anito* spirits, and the common fate of such worship was to quietly survive the loss of a formal priesthood and pantheon as Semper noted. The hallowing of household objects and spaces, the tabooing of ritual cooking pots, and the preserving of heirloom jewelry is almost universal. So, too, is the conviction that postmortal well-being is dependent upon sacrifices made by direct descendants. But although there is also a concept that a man's destiny is only truly fulfilled in the birth of his grandchildren, the idea that elevation to *anito* status is actually prevented by a want of grandchildren would appear to be unique. And the idea that one man becomes more than one *anito* after death is so strange as to raise doubts. Moreover, if the Kalingas really held such a belief, China would be a poor place to seek its origin. Prior to the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese son was absolutely duty bound to perform those sacrifices without which his father's soul—not his grandfather's—could not be laid to rest. An indigenous origin for such a belief would

be more likely. But perhaps still more likely would be the possibility that Semper was simply mistaken. At any event, it is too late to examine any 19th-century specimens of supposedly Chinese writing in the Katalangan valley today. But it is not too late for a sympathetic ethnographer to discover whatever *anito* cult is still being practiced by men of Ipiyak's generation.

What first attracted my attention to Semper's report was its evidence that a Filipino minority had maintained its identity until the middle of the last century while living in close contact with the Filipino majority and dependent upon it. Most Filipino communities that preserved an unhispanized culture to this late date were comparatively self-contained and economically self-sufficient. Such peoples in the mountains of both Mindanao and northern Luzon were self-sufficient in food, manufactured their own cloth and tools, wore distinctive costumes and built distinctive houses, practiced their own religion and followed their own laws, and traded with other Filipinos only for salt, iron, and Chinese porcelain and brassware. Semper's Kalingas, however, displayed no such cultural independence in 1860, and appeared to be on the verge of absorption into the anonymity of the majority Filipino population. What might have happened to these people by 1978? Would they indeed have disappeared—or would they still be recognizable in their own historic territory? My April visit made it clear that the latter is the case.

Of course, the acculturative process has continued and is continuing. A century of migration into the Katalangan valley has outnumbered its Kalinga inhabitants and limited their access to potential swidden land. If Semper is correct in thinking that they used to live in one site for several generations—though surely not in the same bamboo house—the population must have been small enough then to permit the shifting of fields around a wooded area within reach of that one site. This must have been the case in Diboloan whose oldest inhabitant was born there, as were her parents and grandparents. But Ipiyak shifted his residence four times during his lifetime, and the present residents of Ambabuk, Andarayan and Kadsalan all settled there less than 20 years ago. It was due to the social pressure—and ridicule, no doubt—of this influx of hispanized Filipinos that the district's unhispanized Filipinos gave up their tattoos and earrings, and all esthetic expression of their religion. This impetus for change appears to have been comparatively mild, with an easy mingling of Kalingas and Ibanags, but much less benign forces are confronting the same people in the 1970's—namely, modern logging operations and military counterinsurgency campaigns.

The creeks which feed the Katalangan River flow out from

among some of the most magnificent stands of timber in the archipelago—mahogany giants 100 to 200 years old. A logger who delivers three of these five-foot logs realizes a cool profit of one thousand pesos, as sure a magnet to the capitalist heart today as gold was to the *conquistador's* in days not long past. The Sierra Madre forests that produce this bounty also provide admirable cover for guerrilla warfare, and the Armed Forces of the Philippines cannot ignore the fact that loggers and insurgents work the same territory. The Army has already restricted swidden-farming movements, and some of the farmers themselves have suffered the consequences of its investigative techniques. (Ipiyak was sent home from such an interrogation vomiting blood in February 1978.) On the other hand, the logging operations have not yet exerted their full negative impact on the area, and even perform ameliorating functions at present. Their log pools provide occasional employment and a source of discarded material, their roads give improved access to the markets on which Kalingas depend, and their trucks offer free transportation for those willing to travel at their own risk. (The risk is small, as a matter of fact: the roads are so tortuous and the loads so heavy that drivers must keep their trucks under control at all times by means of six-wheel drives, two-speed axles and remodeled transmissions.) But as soon as loggers have ripped through a stand of timber, farmers move in with fire and open a new swidden. Since the trees involved would take centuries to replace, this unwitting combination of efforts promises the complete destruction of the Sierra Madre forest cover in the foreseeable future—and the Kalinga way of life along with it.

Meanwhile, however, that simple fringe culture appears not merely to have survived but to be flourishing. It is a rough life style of limited horizons and steady demands on physical labor. But it is not without a certain dignity and independence, and does not entail the raw exploitation experienced by the Philippine peasantry and proletariat. It is true that Ipiyak receives no modern medical or dental care and that his children do not go to school—but then, young Kalingas in Dilumi have full sets of teeth as solid as ivory, and do not face such modern fate as the three one-armed dynamite fishermen I met among their better educated neighbors. All in all, the struggle for existence and pursuit of happiness in the Katalangan valley today is probably not significantly different from what it was a century ago.

Semper's Kalingas 120 years later are thus just about what they were in 1860—a group of Filipinos with their own identity and language, living in symbiotic relationship with Filipinos of another culture and heritage, and dependent upon the primordial

exchange of forest products for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. As such, they nicely illustrate a stage of Philippine history which other groups in the archipelago occupied for centuries or even millenia.

The Nine Clergy of Nueva Segovia

Uncatalogued in the *Historia eclesiástica de Filipinas* section of the University of Santo Tomas Archives, is a little manuscript volume of some 200 folios of 12.5 x 16.5 cm. entitled, "Various Accounts, or Martyrdoms of the Nine Clergy of [the Diocese of] Nueva Segovia implicated in a supposed conspiracy in the Provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur as being connected with the Tagalog Insurrection which broke out at the end of August of 1896, Manila" (*Relatos variousos o Martirios de los nueve Clérigos de Nueva Segovia complicados en una supuesta conspiración en las provincias de la Unión e Ilocos Sur, como relacionada con la Insurrección tagala, que estalló a fines de Agosto de 1896, Manila*).¹

The first six folios contain a dedication which reads as follows:

To our Confessor, the Reverend Father Luis Viza of the Society of Jesus, Professor of the Ateneo Municipal of Manila.

Very respectable Father:

By way of introduction and as a small token of the gratitude of the Clergy prisoners, we take pleasure in presenting you the following *Accounts* of our cruel martyrdoms. In these you will see what depths human passions can reach, even in persons who by their profession or calling ought to exercise more self-control than other men. If they are read carefully, many details of the deeds to which they refer will seem incredible or at least dubious, considering the status of the persons involved in them; especially if we assure the reader in good conscience that we have given no reason at all, either in our political or our moral and religious behavior, for such harsh and barbarous atrocities; that is to say, we are completely innocent of the charges of which they so groundlessly accuse us. For, as priests, we know very well that Masonry

¹ The author is indebted to the Reverend Fr. Pablo Fernández, O.P., Dominican Archivist, for permission to xerox this manuscript volume.

is a doctrine condemned by the Church and, moreover, contrary to our own religious sentiments; and so it is easy to understand that for us to have fallen into so lamentable an error, it would be necessary for us to be some sort of evil-doers or to have taken leave of our senses.

On the other hand, we do not have the least information that any Masonic lodges exist by whatever chance either in the province of La Union or of Ilócos Sur, and therefore it is not possible to believe that even the laymen who are accused like us were really affiliated with the said proscribed society, unless some of them were in some lodges established in another province.

Therefore, we are firmly convinced that we are not victims of mere chance or circumstantial evidence, but of a deliberate *plot* premeditated for some purpose we will not venture to ascribe; and certain prior events which we saw ourselves have led us to draw this conclusion. As soon as the first news of the current events were known in the two provinces, the Parish Priests, who were all Augustinians, began to get unusually agitated, meeting frequently in the Capital, that is, San Fernando, where the Provincial Vicar Forane resides, after which they got in touch with those in the Province of Ilocos Sur and the Fathers Superior of the Seminary, who were of the same Order; and even though we were not able to learn anything about the reasons for their frequent conferences, it came to our ears nonetheless that some of them actually said that they were planning to "clean out" the provinces, beginning with La Union.

As it turned out, in the middle of last September, the "Conspiracy" was disclosed in La Union which resulted in the immediate imprisonment of a number of prominent persons, thanks to a denunciation made, as we later learned, by a certain telegrapher, Primitivo del Pilar. We also know that to persuade this person to commit such a scandalous infamy, threats were employed together with deceitful promises.

And afterwards, on the night of the 8th and 9th of November, came the imprisonment of some persons in Vigan because, according to some newspapers in this Capital, another "conspiracy" had been discovered in Ilocos Sur; and some days later, the Fathers of the Seminary likewise discovered the terrible "conspiracy" which was being plotted by some Semi-

narians.

But we are confident that the protection of Divine Providence will not permit the attainment of the sinister goals set by the persons who have plotted our downfall; and to obtain this singular favor from Heaven, we earnestly supplicate your prayers to God for us, sinners and unworthy priests though we be.

Manila, Bilibid Military Prison, Department of Political Prisoners, 11 March 1897.

For all my companions,

MARIANO DACANAY, Priest.

Father Dacanay was well qualified to speak for his fellow prisoners: he was the only one of the nine who hadn't broken under torture. Coadjutor priest of Aringay, La Union, at the time of his detention and a former faculty member of the Vigan Seminary, he was one of four priests among the nine clergy. The other three were Fathers Adriano Garces, Mariano Gaerlan, and Bartolome Espiritu, coadjutors of Balaoan and San Fernando, La Union, and Sinait, Ilocos Sur, respectively. The other five were seminarians in the Vigan Seminary—deacons Gabino Carbonel, Ambrosio Mina and Miguel Florentin, and subdeacons Apolonio de la Peña and Luciano Bernabe.

The "martyrdoms" of the title were not deaths, of course, but death-like torments, the Spanish term *martirio* being applicable in both contexts. They were actually a series of floggings so brutal as to have inflicted lifelong scars, administered either by Civil Guards under the direction of Augustinian friars in the Seminary, in their presence and with their assistance, or by Volunteers under civil authority in the La Union provincial capital of San Fernando, with the knowledge and connivance of Vicar Forane and Parish Priest Fray Rafael Redondo—a contribution to the counterrevolutionary cause for which he later paid with his life.²

Father Luis Viza, to whom the little collection of confessions or testimonies is dedicated, was Chaplain to political prisoners in

² He and two younger friars were executed by Revolutionary forces during the Candon uprising of March 26-28, 1898, "to give an account of their misdeeds to their Creator." ("*Hechos biográficos*," Kandon, 23 January 1899, National Library: Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents Folder 682.

Bilibid at the outbreak of the Revolution. Since he was a Jesuit, one does not know by what route the manuscripts came to rest in Dominican archives, but there is another copy in the same hand and with the same signatures in the Jesuit archives in San Cugat in Spain.³ The U.S.T. copy appears to be a preliminary draft since it includes emendations, revisions, and repagination, and lacks three of the signatures of the San Cugat copy.

The story of the martyrdoms, now long forgotten, received due publicity during the Malolos Republic. Five of the accounts were published in full in *La Independencia* in September and October 1898, and all reprinted in Salvador Pons y Torres' *Defensa del Clero filipino* in 1900. In September 1898, too, Father Espiritu forwarded an account in both Spanish and Latin to the Vatican Secretary of State as an actual suit for submission to the Curia on "whether or not the Spanish regulars who took an active and leading part in the tortures to which nine Filipino clergy were subjected in 1896 had incurred excommunication and censure."⁴ Rebel journalist Isabelo de los Reyes publicized the incidents in his sensational *Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina* in 1899 for a Spanish audience in Madrid not yet recovered from the fascination of the grisly details of contemporary torture cases in Montjuich Castle. A foreign journalist whiled away his time waiting to interview President Aguinaldo in Malolos in November 1898 by examining a set of little mannikins depicting Filipinos being tortured by Spaniards, one of which represented a friar in the act of flogging a grotesquely bound victim at his feet.⁵ And on January 29, 1900, Fathers Jose M. Chanco and Mariano Sevilla addressed a formal communication to Papal Delegate Chapelle in which they referred to the "inhuman martyrdom of the nine clergy" as having been carried out "with the knowledge and permission of the Bishop and Ecclesiastical Governor of the Diocese, also friars."⁶

In the face of all this turn-of-the-century publicity, the silence of the Spanish clergy involved is noteworthy. One of the younger Filipino victims, Deacon Ambrosio Mina, wrote Pons in 1900 that neither he nor seminarian Apolonio de la Peña had signed or authorized the accounts published in his *Defensa del Clero filipino*—but their signatures appear in the original documents as

³ A microfilm copy of this item appears in Reel 46 of the "St. Louis Collection," Item E-II-e, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

⁴ Salvador Pons y Torres, *El Clero secular filipino* (Manila 1900), p. 36.

⁵ Edwin Wildman, *Aguinaldo: a narrative of Filipino ambition* (Boston 1901), p. 154.

⁶ Achútegui and Bernad, *Religious revolution in the Philippines*, Vol. 4 (Manila 1972), p. 44.

sharp and clear as all the others. So far as the friars themselves are concerned, their only public comment appears to be a brief passage by one who was not personally involved—Father Graciano Martínez—in the *Memorias del Cautiverio* he wrote while he was a prisoner of war himself. It appears in a chapter whose main burden is that most of the friar prisoners' sufferings at Filipino hands was due to the baleful influence of *La Independencia's* propaganda:

Anyway, we will forgive them the fakery of this literature; what cannot be forgiven under any circumstances is their having circulated those *Accounts*...of events no less imaginary than the poems of that same literature (which is, as one would say, another Insula Barataria like that domain Don Quixote gave Sancho Panzo), with which four feeble minds hoped to besmirch the illustrious religious of the Vigan Seminary.⁷

* * *

The story of the events Father Dacanay refers to as plot, conspiracy and martyrdoms begins just a week after the outbreak of hostilities at Balintawak when, on August 30, 1896, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Dominican Fray José Hevia Campomanes, sent the following circular letter to all parish priests in Ilocos Sur and La Union:

Your Reverences will already have learned from the newspapers about the huge Masonic and antipatriotic conspiracy recently discovered in Manila, thanks to Divine Providence and the Most Holy Virgin Mary who keeps watch over this beautiful archipelago. Some parties of fugitives, no doubt connected with it, have appeared in the surroundings of the Capital, which fortunately have already been attacked by our troops, and the others are retreating to find refuge in the mountains, for which reason the provinces nearest Manila have been declared in a state of siege. His Excellency, the Governor General, has taken the necessary steps to maintain order and security so all loyal citizens can live in tranquility.

Inasmuch as this conspiracy is due principally to the anathematized Masonry, irreconcilable enemy of the one true Religion, the Catholic Church, which we have the good fortune to profess, we recommend to your Reverences extreme vigi-

⁷ Op. cit., p. 180.

lance over everything in these circumstances, and expect from your well-known zeal that you will advise us immediately of any indication you may note of danger or opposition to Religion and the Fatherland, and most especially of Masonic or antireligious propaganda, so that appropriate action may be taken... God guard your Reverences many years.⁸

The first to be caught in the resulting witch hunt was Primitivo H. del Pilar, telegraph operator in San Fernando. On September 10, he executed a sworn statement in which he confesses to antipatriotic ideas, abjures Masonry, humbly begs pardon from Mother Spain, and implicates a dozen other men as party to a Tagalog conspiracy to assassinate all Spanish officials and priests in the province. A fitting sense of drama is supplied by the final paragraph:

I swear that the major part of the outsiders here in the capital were members and committed to the goal; I don't know [all their] names but I believe business contractor Jose Sanchez must know them; nor do I know where they may have gone or be in hiding, since all I know is that I heard a conversation in Tagalog between two who passed by the station who were talking and said, "Tomorrow we move!" and all this took place the day previous to the present one.⁹

Then he spent two days concocting a list of supposed assassins together with their individual targets, with the help of provincial governor Don Antonio Díaz de Cendreras, Volunteer Enrique Lete, and Vicar Forane Rafael Redondo—under duress and against his will, as he was later to testify in a retraction before Military Judge Rafael Ripoll in Manila.

Arrests began on the 12th, and on the 13th Father Gaerlan was called in by Father Redondo and asked what he knew about the reported conspiracy. When he said he knew nothing, his superior told him darkly that he had better be mighty careful because he was treading on very slippery ground. On the 18th the first suspects were shipped off to Manila for deportation to Palawan, and the next day Father Gaerlan and the coadjutor priests of Aringay and Balaoan were notified by telegram to report to Vigan. Fathers Dacanay and Gaerlan embarked on a

⁸ I am indebted to Seminarian Danilo Laeda of the Archdiocesan Seminary, Vigan, for a copy of this circular from the *Libro de Ordenes episcopales*, Cacaoayan, Ilocos Sur.

⁹ National Archives: *Sediciones y Rebellones*, NA-24 (Book 2, 1895-1897). *Gobierno de la Provincia de la Unión*.

coastal steamer on the 20th, and Father Garces followed on the 22nd. In Vigan they reported to the Provisor—that is, the Ecclesiastical Governor of the Diocese—Fray Casimiro González, who immediately sent them across the plaza to the Seminary.

The old Vigan Seminary was a tourist-attracting example of Spanish colonial architecture which extended along three sides of the city block just across the plaza from the episcopal palace and cathedral until it was destroyed by fire in 1968. Airy living quarters with high ceilings and huge capiz-shell windows overhung a cool dark ground floor of masonry whose thick walls could muffle even the noisiest reactions to physical torture. In back, well water for bathing and cooking was raised to the second story by a well sweep which, if need arose, could also serve to suspend a man by the neck until he confessed or lost consciousness. And below, backing up against the Government House to the north, was the secluded oasis of the Seminary garden where friar faculty could read their breviaries and students take their recreation—or, as the Provincial Governor was soon to charge, plot to murder their professors. Somewhere within these Baroque surroundings Fathers Dacanay, Gaerlan and Garces were placed incommunicado in separate cells under lock and key.

For the next two weeks the three Filipino clergy were interrogated and abused. One after another, friars entered their cells to accuse them of being Masons and subversives—Provisor González, Vice Rector Urbano Alvarez, Episcopal Secretary Hilario Estevez, and Professors Antonio Blanco and Gabino Olaso. All their protestations of ignorance of subversion and innocence of Masonry produced reactions of violent anger, insults, and blows. Threats and statements that they had already been implicated by testimony on the part of arrested laymen were interspersed with affable cajolery and promises of intercession with the Bishop on their behalf if they would only tell what they knew. Their bodies were minutely inspected for tell-tale scars from Katipunan-like blood oaths, but all requests to make their confessions, receive communion, or present appeals to the Bishop were denied. Finally, Father Blanco told Father Gaerlan that their case had proceeded from bad to worse, and on October 2, he and Father Garces were placed in leg irons.

The following night, Father Gaerlan was—ominously—permitted to make his confession. A week later the Provisor visited him for the last time. He was told to remove his cassock and prepare for delivery to civil authority since it was an established fact that in the La Union conspiracy he had agreed to murder the Governor and his whole family. That same day the Vice Rector turned him over to an officer and three Civil Guards for delivery

to the steamer *Churruca* in the port of Salomague, but only after a cruel little despedida he described in his *Account* as follows:

Some of the superiors were in my room only a few minutes before my departure from the Seminary, to send me off with insults, contempt, jibes, and laughter, telling me that as soon as I reached Manila, my head would roll.¹⁰

Father Garces' turn came next.

Adriano Garces was what would be called an activist nowadays. A contributor to the only Filipino-owned and -edited newspaper in the colony—Isabelo de los Reyes' *El Ilocano*—he had corresponded directly with Overseas Minister Manuel Becerra in 1893 about the low stipends received by Filipino clergy, and the next year had actually been included in a list of *filibusteros* (subversives). Now, in the middle of October, his tormentors made him write a letter to Father Juan Pakting, assistant parish priest of Namacpacan (now Luna, L.U.), to send all his private papers. None of these, however, proved to be incriminating. On October 21 he was told that he had been named as an accomplice by confessed conspirator Luciano Almeida—to which he replied evenly that if Almeida said such a thing, either he was out of his mind or they had tortured him. The following day he was stripped of his cassock, taken to bid farewell to Father Dacanay, and sent off with the same sort of black humor as Father Gaerlan had suffered—"If you escape Bagumbayan, you won't escape the penal colony; but before either, you're going to get a really first-class drubbing in La Union just like that criminal Gaerlan."¹¹

That same day, leg irons were placed on the last priest prisoner, Father Mariano Dacanay—translator of religious literature, editor of Fray Cipriano Marcillo's sermons, contributor to *El Ilocano*, and former instructor in geography and history in that very seminary. Father Dacanay's own account of what happened next may serve as a measure of the stuff the man was made of.

On the 27th of the said month, the Provisor came to see me again, submitting me to the same interrogation; and when I insisted on my innocence and the obvious untruth that a Catholic priest could be so disgraceful as to fall into Masonry, which he knows is condemned by the Church, or of approving the separatist cause which suggests an idea of revolution and shameful treason repugnant to the truly Christian heart, even in his thoughts, he insulted me with the harshest names, and

¹⁰ *Relatos varios*, fol. 11v.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 36-36v.

ordered me flogged in his presence and of the other fathers superior, with Fray Antonio acting as flogger, who gave me 25 lashes. The Vicar General also ordered that from that day on I should not be given anything to eat but plain rice and water, an order scrupulously carried out until my departure from the Seminary on November 7.

On the night of the 28th, Father Blanco visited me again in my quarters, and when he could not wring a declaration out of me that satisfied him—that is, a lie which would compromise me—despite his alternate threats of death and promises of immediate freedom, he flew into a rage and also gave me a cruel blow.

On the morning of the 29th of the same month, the Provisor visited me once again, with the same intention that I should confess the truth to him—that is, that I should be untrue to my conscience and admit the charges falsely—and since he did not get what he wanted, he had four European Civil Guards called with the consent of the rest of the fathers in the Seminary, and charged them with the atrocious work of torturing me. For this purpose, the said Guards placed me “bamboo-foot” (a barbarous punishment, which is not fit even for animals, applied in the following manner: the victim is made to squat down on his haunches, a thick bamboo is passed beneath both knees, and then his two wrists are tied together in front with a rope, with his arms under the bamboo on each side; in this position, the victim is nothing but a ball, for if he attempts to move, he is sure to roll over on the ground) and in this contorted and painful position, struck me many blows on the shoulders with a thick bamboo they call “brute” every time I answered in the negative, leaving me horribly swollen and bruised. Present during this heartrending and horrendous spectacle were the Provisor and the seven superiors of the Seminary who, instead of sympathizing with my sufferings and cruel torture, much to the contrary watched my martyrdom with visible signs of pleasure, for they even went to the extent of encouraging the Guards to treat me even more cruelly—Father Gabino Olaso, for one. During my torment, the fathers said that if I died on account of those lashes, they would put my corpse in a box and just throw it in some corner; and when they saw me murmur a prayer between clenched teeth—because during my torture I kept praying the *Memorare* of St. Bernard to the Virgin to implore her protection in those most cruel moments—they laughed at me, and said, “What can this hypocrite be praying!” And when I fell over due to the blows and the fatigue caused by such a contorted

posture, rolling over on the floor, they added to my sufferings by kicking me roughly as if I were a football, and when I fell, I struck my head against a post, causing a wound, and another time I rolled over near Father Gabino, who was pacing quietly around the room, and he gave me another tremendous kick in the head which completely stunned me.

This martyrdom of blows from the "brute" and the "bamboo-foot" was repeated on the 2nd and 4th of November, morning and afternoon, always in the presence of some of the fathers of the Seminary, and I figure the lashes my tormentors gave me reached 300. And on the last day cited, the Provisor and the Bishop's Secretary, Father Hilario Estévez, saw me when they entered my room with another native priest, 60-year-old Don Antonino de la Cuesta, who was also a prisoner, and when they were all inside, the Provisor said to the Guards, "Give him what you gave the other one"—indicating me. And when I looked at the Provisor and begged him to have mercy on me, he replied with obvious anger, "No pity for you, you rascal!"

But despite such horrendous tortures, God and the Most Holy Virgin must have heard my constant prayers and granted me the moral strength to triumph over their fiendish efforts right up to the end, still insisting on my denials in accord with the dictates of my conscience.

I also recall that on the 22nd of October after midday, the Seminary fathers entered my room with a lot of noise, escorting Father Garces, who was going to be sent to Manila that same day, they said, and in raucous amusement they told him in sarcastic tones, "Say good-bye to your partner in crime: you'll soon have a bullet in your head, for as soon as you get to Manila, they're going to shoot you in Bagumbayan." And they made us shake hands right then, and Father Garces said to me with the deepest emotion, "Farewell, my brother, pray for me."¹²

* * *

¹² This is translated from the San Cugat copy (see note 3 above), which has the advantage of being shorter, the names of many lay suspects having been suppressed.

Father Dacanay could still display the scars of this experience during an interview with Father Isaias Edralin, S.J., in 1919. "Look at the marks, Father Edralin, from the lashes given under orders of the friars in the Seminary. And he uncovered his shoulders, and I saw four long scars on the father's shoulder from the floggings of twenty years before." I am indebted to the Reverend Dr. John Schumacher, S.J., for this citation from the *Protestas del clero filipino contra el cisma* in the Achútegui Collection, Loyola House of Studies.

Father Gaerlan reached San Fernando on October 13 and was taken directly to confront the man he had supposedly planned to assassinate, Governor Díaz de Cendreras. Upon seeing him, the Governor leaped to his feet and grabbed him by the throat, shouting that he would strangle him, until the section chief of the local Civil Guards, Lieutenant Jesualdo Iglesias, managed to calm him down. He was then bound by three Guards and taken to the ground floor of the Lieutenant's quarters, where he was thrown down and asked if he were a Mason. When he replied in the negative, the Lieutenant ordered two Guards to beat him to death, and they started in methodically, one on each side. After some 200 strokes, faint from lack of blood and delirious with pain, Father Gaerlan agreed to say he was a Mason. So, kneeling at a bench in his blood-soaked trousers, he painfully wrote out a dictated statement which the Lieutenant then carried across the plaza to the convento.

It took another four days, however, to expand and refine this statement into the detailed confession required by the complexity of the "conspiracy". The Governor assured him that if he confessed his involvement he would be set free, and Vicar Forane Redondo added, "It's no use for you to deny it since we already know everything, and if you keep on withholding what you know, you'll get in the neck what Father Burgos got." The turning point came on the 15th when the Governor escorted him to the convento, where Lieut. Iglesias and several friars were waiting for him.

As soon as I got there, the Father Vicar showed me a paper containing many questions written out in his own hand, and said that I should answer them all, point by point like a moral case. After it was read to me, I answered that I didn't know anything about the events it dealt with, and protested against the punishments and coercion inflicted on me in the Lieutenant's house, since it was only under duress that I had consented to write what he dictated to me; and I begged him on my knees to take me under his protection, not only as Vicar but as parish priest, inasmuch as I was completely innocent. But, far from being moved, he told me that if that was true, I had perjured myself because I didn't have to declare what was untrue even if they had killed me; and besides, he said, he considered me guilty anyway because even if I was neither a Mason nor a party to the plot under investigation, it was impossible to believe that I was ignorant of it. And when I kept insisting that I knew absolutely nothing, that father flew into a rage and handed me over to those gentlemen.

The Lieutenant then hit me on the back of the neck, and

threatened me with his revolver right in the fathers' presence, and forced me to sign the declaration he had dictated in his house, assuring me in a threatening tone that I would have to answer the cited questions that afternoon. Then he called two Guards, whom he ordered to bind me—as they did right in front of the two reverend parish priests, Fray Mariano García and Fray Leandro Collado, and Fray Anacleto Fernández, who were present—and then to take me to the jail and put me in the death house. . .

In the afternoon, two Guards got me out and took me to the Office, tied, where I found the Governor and a certain Primitivo del Pilar, whom I believe they called to confront me, as he did, and from this encounter I concluded that the said Pilar was the false accuser of everybody who was being investigated in San Fernando, for when I challenged him to prove his accusations, he could only keep repeating himself without looking me square in the eye. Then the Governor told me to answer the questions we had discussed, and when I said I was completely ignorant of their answers, the two of them—the Governor and the Lieutenant—got angry and, the former getting his cane and the latter his revolver, they threatened that if I didn't answer to their liking in five minutes, I would be beaten to death or killed in some other way they would hate to tell me. Intimidated by this threat, I acceded for the second time, and wrote down what the Lieutenant and the aforesaid Pilar dictated to me.¹³

Father Garces arrived on the 24th, and caused more trouble for himself and everybody else before he was ready to cooperate than Father Gaerlan had. Failing to answer a set of questions in Father Redondo's handwriting presented by the Governor, he was dragged off to jail in full view of startled passersby, and there mauled and left on the flagstones without mat or pillow in a hot, dark cell with tightly closed windows. The next day, five lengths of rattan were broken over his buttocks during floggings under the Lieutenant's house, and still he resisted all suggestions, threats, and promises from both the Governor and the Vicar for two more days. He was therefore turned over to Volunteers Enrique Lete and Provincial Physician Jose María Cissal, who took him to a lonely beach in the middle of the night where they quickly reduced him to incoherent acquiescence by beating the scabs off his pus-filled wounds. They then let him recover for two days in solitary confinement, with

¹³ *Relatos varios*, fols. 15v-18v.

bedding and fresh air, before Lete, the Governor and Father Redondo came to help him make a good confession. With their assistance, he was able to produce a declaration that finally satisfied them, which he signed on November 3. The following is a fair sample of the sort of fantasies it contained:

Copy of the Covenant made during the meeting held in the telegraph office and which is referred to in the letter I cite from Daniel Lopez:

Since an insurrection against Spain is going to be made shortly by the Province of Manila for their independence, the undersigned, committed to this ideal as true sons of the Philippines, swear on their word as noble and loyal gentlemen to undertake their own in this province, in the form and manner following:

1. All the Spaniards will be killed except the mestizos.
2. The date of execution is set for the 14th of September, Monday, between eight and nine o'clock at night, at the sound of two rather long bugle blasts of equal duration.
3. The persons charged with this undertaking will be armed with revolvers, as well as swords, sabers or rifles if they have them.
4. Each shall arrange to have at least eight men at his disposal, two of whom shall be armed with revolvers, the rest with bolos.
5. Prior to the hour set above, they must be ready and on the alert, and when they hear the two blasts on the bugle, will immediately come out of their shelter or hiding places to carry out their missions.
6. Taking any booty without the prior knowledge and permission of the Chief, Don Luciano Almeida, is absolutely prohibited.
7. On the completion of his mission, the leader closes up the house under lock and key, leaving two of his men to guard it, and immediately comes down with the rest of his men to help the others.
8. The same will take place in the other towns on the same day and hour as in the capital; and after they have finished, they will come to the capital without losing any time for whatever may be necessary and to receive orders from the Chief.

THE NINE CLERGY OF NUEVA SEGOVIA /191

The persons assigned are:

For the Capital	D. Luciano Almeida and D. Ramon de la Rosa will take care of the Governor himself. Pio Lopez of the fathers, with the assistance of Father Mariano Gaerlan. Ireneo Javier and Florencio Baltazar of the Judge. D. Pedro Hernandez of the Fiscal, D. Pedro Padua of the Administrator. D. Jose Castañeda of the Civil Guard Lieutenant. Anastasio Posadas of Señor Castel. D. Daniel Perez of D. Enrique Lete. D. Ramon Hernandez of D. Froilan Sabugo and his nephew, Anacleto Diaz of Señor Abaroa. D. Gregorio Collado of D. Rafael Lete. Vicente Carbonel of Señor Romero. Roman Florentino of the Registrar. Benito in charge of the Physician's estate and farmers, of the Civil Guard quarters.
Bangar	Manuel Bautista and Francisco Lopez of the father.
Balaoan	Luciano Resurreccion of the father, with Father Garces as his assistant if necessary. Municipal Captain D. Juan Rodriguez and his subordinates of Señor Zaidin and Señor Castella.
Namacpacan	D. Manuel Resurreccion of the father.
Bacnotan	Emerencia Padua of the father.
San Juan	D. Simon Galbey of the father and Señor Illeras.
Santo Tomas	D. Sixto Zanduetta of the father.
Agoo	D. Gabriel Tabora of the father and D. Eugenio Zafra of the Spaniards.
Aringay	D. Juan Baltazar of the father.

Since nobody has been assigned to Carlatan because of the shortage of men, three of the groups assigned to the capital will proceed to the said barrio as soon as their missions have been accomplished. All that has been said above will be car-

ried out to the letter; and anybody who does not do so without reasonable and grave cause will be punished with death.

San Fernando, June 1896—Luciano Almeida—Ramon de la Rosa—Daniel Perez—Ireneo Javier—Pio Lopez—Jose Castañeda—Vicente Carbonel—Sixto Zanduetta—Gabriel Tabora—Luciano Resurreccion—Florencio Baltazar—Pedro Padua—Simon Galbey.

This copy is made from memory of the original which was signed in the meeting which took place in the telegraph office.

ADRIANO GARCES¹⁴

Still the Vicar, the Governor and Lete were not satisfied, but kept running back and forth between their two captives with new demands and threats. There was the matter of Father Gaerlan's supposed assassination victim, for example. When he arrived in San Fernando, he was accused of being the intended murderer of the Governor, and had confessed himself as such. But in Father Garces' reconstruction of events, it was Father Redondo who appears as his target. On November 6, therefore, the Vicar himself visited Father Gaerlan in his cell to call this lapse of memory to his attention and require him to amend his declaration accordingly. But Father Gaerlan balked. He stated firmly that he had signed all the false statements he was going to—and it took Lete and two assistants a whole hour on the beach to change his mind. Then, clinging to the edge of a bench back in his cell, too weak to hold the pen, he dictated the required statements to Volunteer Cisnal, with Lete slapping the sense into him and Father Garces' declaration held conveniently in his sight. "From this experience and from what I heard them say," he later wrote, "I concluded that, after having made Father Garces declare falsely by the force of beatings, they found his declaration more detailed and incriminating so, no doubt to make their victory more complete, they tried to force me to make that new declaration conform to his by means of the same cruel and barbarous punishments."¹⁵

Father Dacanay arrived the following day. It is probably a testimony to the fortitude and stoutness of heart he had displayed in the Vigan Seminary that the Governor turned him di-

¹⁴ I am indebted to Father Schumacher for a copy of this document from the *Servicio Histórico Militar* (Madrid), *Sección Ultramar Armario 13, Tabla 1/a, Legajo 4*.

¹⁵ *Relatos varios*, fol. 24-24v.

rectly over to Lete without any preliminaries. And it was those same qualities that enabled him to survive the night and leave the following record of the experience:

At ten o'clock the same night, three Volunteers came to the jail for this purpose—the aforesaid Lete, a certain Abundio Sabugo, and another whom I did not know but later learned was the acting Provincial Physician—got me out, and took me to a lonely spot on the beach some distance from town. As soon as we got there, they tied my elbows and feet with long ropes, threw me on the sand, pulled down my trousers to expose my buttocks, and then while one pulled the rope on my feet, and another the one on my elbows, the third—Lete himself—flogged me viciously. When he got tired, another relieved him, and so they proceeded, one alternating with another to give me lashes with the greatest ferocity. When all three got tired, they suspended their work for some minutes to smoke a cigarette, for they said they had enough time before dawn, chatting cheerfully all the while. One lighted a match to look at my buttocks, and another said he was sorry he had forgotten to bring a little alcohol to pour over my buttocks and set on fire. One suggested placing me face up to whip my stomach, to which Lete responded that they could do that when they finished my buttocks; and another recommended taking me to the edge of the sea and putting me under the water, and one even went so far as to say it would be better to squeeze my testicles—that then I would really sing. And after this short break, they flogged me again with great ferocity to complete a martyrdom which lasted until midnight when they quit, not for want of enthusiasm or strength but because the three bamboos they had brought with them were worn out and split. When they stopped, they poured grains of sand over my buttocks to increase the pain of the wounds the strokes had made. As we started back, I could not stay on my feet as a result of the maltreatment, so two of them had me hold them by the arms, but since I kept falling down anyway because I was so weak I couldn't even use my hands, Lete boxed me on the right temple one time I fell, seriously damaging my eye on that side.

When Lete saw that it was impossible for me to walk, he went off in search of people to carry me, while we stayed behind, the two Volunteers sitting right down while I lay there collapsed, listening to their conversation. Among other things, I clearly understood that one was asking how many lashes they had given me, and the other replied that it must have been some-

thing like 600, and I believe he was not short in his calculation, either, for I remember that when they decided to quit the punishment, one of them said he wanted to give me a *despedida* and so dealt me another fifty-some strokes, and the other two followed his example, each one giving me the same number or a little less. After some time, Lete returned with three men, who carried me to a vehicle waiting on the road; we all returned to town in it, and they took me straight to the jail. In the calesa, since I could not sit down because of my wounds, they just put me between their feet somehow, like a dog.¹⁶

* * *

Back in Vigan, meanwhile, two Filipino priests remained in the Seminary—former Sinait coadjutor Bartolome Espiritu and 60-year-old Antonino de la Cuesta of San Esteban. Father Espiritu had been summoned to Vigan for reassignment just two days before the arrival of the three La Union coadjutors. He was told to take up residence in the Seminary but given no assignment, so he requested the Bishop's permission to begin spiritual exercises, which was granted. For the next seven weeks he remained there, presumably in religious retreat, with the Vice Rector occasionally dropping in to chat, report current events like the detention of his three brother priests, and inquire about the leading citizens of Vigan and whether or not they were Masons. To these questions, Father Espiritu replied that he knew nothing about it. But at the end of the first week in November, he noticed that the door of his room was being locked except when he went out to make his meditation in the morning and say mass. This was just the time when old Father Cuesta was signing incriminating declarations against those Vigan *ilustrados*.

Perhaps because of his age, Father Cuesta had received a different approach from the friars: they promised him a parish if he would cooperate. When he indignantly refused, they called in the Civil Guards to "give him what they gave the other one"—that is, Father Dacanay. In this way he was persuaded to sign the documents which resulted in Bishop Hevia's order to arrest the cream of the local gentry on the night of November 8-9—Lino Abaya, Gregorio Sy-Quia and Mena Crisologo, for example. Abaya was a Candon *ilustrado* of such prominence visiting Governors were en-

¹⁶ See note 12 above.

Enrique Lete y Cornell, a Spanish mestizo from San Fernando, La Union, was Jose Rizal's classmate in the Ateneo, and elder brother of Rizal's fellow propagandist, Eduardo Lete, in Spain. He was killed—one is tempted to say fortunately—during a small uprising in Santo Tomas, La Union, on April 11, 1898.

tertained in his house, and Gregorio Sy-Quia was a Chinese mestizo and the richest man in Vigan. And Don Mena Crisologo was an authority on canon law who had served as notary to Bishop Hevia's predecessor, so effectively, in fact, as to have caused the excommunication of two Augustinian friars.

Two nights later, Vice Rector Alvarez and Father Blanco entered Father Espiritu's room dressed in the uniform of the Volunteers and carrying a rifle with bayonet fixed, and ordered him to write down all he knew about the conspiracy. When he demurred, they punched him in the eye and said they would be back in two hours for his statement. At 11:30 they returned with Vigan Ayuntamiento Secretary Francisco Llanes (who claimed to be a representative from the central government in Manila), hit him over the head with a revolver when they discovered that he had written nothing, and dictated a statement and made him sign it. Two days later the following press release was dispatched to *La Política de España en Filipinas*, one of the friar organs in Madrid:

Vigan, 13 Nov. 1896.—We have just discovered a horrible conspiracy here, like the one in La Union, Manila, and other places. It was discovered by accident. From a reference by one of the three Filipino clergy involved in the conspiracy in San Fernando, La Union, discovered on Sept. 13, the most worthy Señor Hevia Campomanes, Bishop of this diocese, ordered another coadjutor priest called to the Seminary from San Esteban (Ilocos Sur), and he, who had been in Manila in the year 1890 and initiated into Masonry by Isabelo de los Reyes, has started declaring and revealing all that had been plotted for an uprising on Sept. 10 to kill all us Spaniards.

As a result of this, important prisoners have been taken, and three or more have admitted everything. The prisoners are the richest and most prominent persons here, among them the Mayor of the Ayuntamiento, Gregorio R. Sy-Quia, a Chinese mestizo, holder of the Crosses of Isabel the Catholic and Carlos III.

It is known that the conspiracy in the guise of Masonry (which is not prosecuted by the authorities) existed in all the provinces of the Archipelago, although not in all was its work so advanced as in Manila and the adjoining provinces.

But if it had not been discovered in time by Father Gil, you can imagine what would have happened to all the Spaniards and how many sacrifices it would have cost Spain to recover so vast a territory.

In the whole Diocese of Nueva Segovia, seven *indio* clergy have been implicated up to the present; it is believed that

there will turn out to be more.

We must start suppressing this clergy and replacing them with religious from the Peninsula, even the coadjutors themselves. The most Reverend Father Hevia, according to my information, is of the same opinion, and it seems that he already said so to the provincials of the Orders in the years '91 and '92, recommending to them the desirability of increasing the number of students in the schools in Spain.—AVS¹⁷

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 17th, the Vice Rector called the eldest seminarian out of evening prayers, 35-year-old Gabino Carbonel, and took him to the Rector, Fray Bartolomé Fernández, who then took him to the Government House next door. There, Provincial Governor Pedro López Hernando threatened him, bloodied his nose, ordered him to write his name in the secret form Masons use, and sent him back to the Seminary to think things over. Four days later he was taken back to the Government House and confronted with a letter supposedly from one Agripino Carbonel, a political detainee in Palawan they claimed was his relative. Back in the Seminary that night, the Vice Rector, brandishing a revolver, accused him of being a Mason and, the next morning, of planning to murder him. On the 23rd he was turned over to the civil government to experience techniques of persuasion different from those employed in San Fernando, but just as effective.

Two volunteers, one of them a Filipino by the name of Joaquin Angulo, tied his hands and feet together behind his back and left him in that position all morning. In the afternoon they returned with the comment, "Let's give him a new shape," and reduced him to a painful ball by fastening his wrists below his knees. In this posture he very quickly agreed to sign whatever they wanted, but was so bruised and stiff they had to massage his arms and shoulders with alcohol and let him recover overnight. But his whole ordeal was not without a few incidents which under other circumstances might have served as comic relief. A printed sheet covered with odd diagrams of the human figure and cabalistic notations, which was supposedly found among his personal effects, turned out to be a Singer Sewing Machine advertisement. And when he finally signed a declaration that he had become a Mason in 1880, he obligingly used a code name—*Masoy Noson*. It took the Governor an hour to notice that this was an anagram on *No soy Masón* ("I'm not a Mason"), but when he did, he rushed back to Carbonel's cell livid with rage, and slapped, punched, and kicked him prostrate.

¹⁷ Op. cit., Jan. 15, 1897.

The next morning—the 26th—the Deacon was ready to co-operate. Angulo came armed with a revolver and a list of seminarians and got him to make a declaration implicating Luciano Bernabe, Miguel Florentin, Ambrosio Mina, Apolonio de la Peña, and Francisco Paredes, a student of dogmatics and moral theology, as well as Father Espiritu—and sign it with a more plausible *Bagino Bocarnel*. The same afternoon, he was forced to identify two letters as being in the hand of his “relative” Agripino Carbonel, one addressed to him and the other to his “tenant” Pio Pilar. The first read, “I suppose you are well aware of what’s going on: we can do nothing for you here in Balabac where we’ve been deported, but if you want to make an armed uprising, you can approach Pio Pilar and he’ll tell you what to do,” and the second, “You will receive such-and-such a number of rifles, Mausers, etc., on the steamer N——.”¹⁸ Having completed this work, Deacon Carbonel spent the next two days trying to get some priest to hear his confession, abjure his perjury, and relieve his conscience, and then attempted suicide by gashing his stomach with a broken bottle. In both efforts he was unsuccessful.

That night a raid was made on a house in Candon in which the local gentry were rehearsing a *zarzuela* and *moro-moro* for the coming Fiesta of Santa Barbara. Roberto Guirnalda, two of his sons, and several other men were arrested and brought to Vigan. The next day the Governor spent the morning interrogating them, and at four o’clock that afternoon went to the Seminary and had Bernabe, Florentin and Peña called out of class, one after the other.

Bernabe found the Governor in the visitors’ sala with some of the Seminary faculty, talking together in low voices. He heard them agree that the subdeacon’s guilt was written all over his face. He was then ordered to kneel before the Governor and confess the existence of a cabal in the Seminary, while the Rector rushed off to his quarters and came back with a bayonet, which he handed to the Governor. Then, with the Rector hitting him from behind and the Governor pricking his chest with the bayonet, he was angrily cross-examined. “I see everything that goes on in the Seminary garden during your recreation period from the Government House,” the Governor said. “You were holding meetings; you’ve been plotting—you, Gabino Carbonel, and all your comrades—to kill the Spanish fathers!”¹⁹ Seminary Secretary Fray Mariano Rodríguez agreed, and the Governor sent for Father Blanco and told him, pointing to Bernabe, “Here, here’s your

¹⁸ *Relatos varios*, fol. 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 128.

assassin!" The Governor then spit in his face and turned him over to the Rector, who took him to his room and made him stand with his shoulders to the wall while the Vice Rector beat Miguel Florentin in front of him.

So began a week of friar fury and brutality of such intensity it can only be accounted for by supposing that they really believed they had just barely escaped being murdered in their beds by their own students. The seminarians moved through this nightmare in a daze, stunned not only by physical blows but by terrifying demands like "Confess you agreed to kill Father So-and-so!" They were slapped and flogged, kicked and pummeled, and threatened with revolvers pressed to their temples. Bernabe was struck in the face with a bunch of keys, forced to kneel in an act of contrition, and then—"Get up, you animal, you brute, you *chongo*!"—stripped of his cassock.²⁰ Florentin was thrown to the floor in the Rector's room and trampled, and then suspended by the neck from the well sweep until he lost consciousness. In between, they were all abusively denounced, interrogated and cross-examined, and occasionally brought face to face in hopes of finding contradictions in their stories.

Finally, on December 1, Deacon Florentin and Subdeacon Peña were turned over to civil authority, accused of having plotted to murder Fathers Alvarez and Canteros respectively. On the 2nd, Subdeacon Bernabe managed to escape, but was forced to return when he discovered that the whole town of Vigan was so intimidated by the current reign of terror that not even his own relatives would take him in. On the 3rd, Deacon Mina was called in, accused, knocked to the floor, kicked back to his feet, struck with a revolver, and examined for any blood-oath scars. When he fell to his knees and invoked the name of God and the Virgin, he was struck for blaspheming those sacred names with his presumably Masonic lips. Then he was stripped of his cassock and turned over to the civil government together with Bernabe. On the 4th, Father Espiritu was seized and handed over on grounds specified in Carbonel's declaration—that he had been planning to murder two young students of Peninsular Spanish parentage. And on the 5th, they were all put on board the *Churruca* just two hours after Volunteers had finally managed to get Mina's signature on a statement that he had been party to Father Espiritu's plan.

Father Antonio de la Cuesta was evidently never sent to Manila, whether because of his age or because of arrangements he may have made with his tormentors. Probably he is the Filipino priest referred to in an article in the Madrid paper, *La Justicia*,

²⁰ Ibid., fol. 132.

as an example of Filipino venality and crudeness for having asked for a parish in return for his services.²¹ And theology student Francisco Paredes did not reach Bilibid, either. Instead, he was sent to join the Candon prisoners on the ground floor of the Government House, together with his father, Procopio—and one Pio Pilar, Municipal Captain of Bantay.

The *Churruca* put in at San Fernando on the 6th and picked up Fathers Dacanay, Gaerlan and Garces—but not before they were subjected to one final indignity at the hands of the provincial government. They were made to swear affidavits before the appointed Judge Inspector, Lt. Jesualdo Iglesias himself, that confessions had been made of their own free will without any coercion. Then they were sternly warned not to change any of their statements in Manila or they would pay dearly for it, and delivered to the steamer with elbows bound, and placed in irons.

The *Churruca* reached Manila on the 7th, and the Vigan prisoners were taken to Bilibid, the La Union clergy to the Archdiocesan Seminary in Intramuros. There they were treated with the dignity befitting their calling and the sympathy their condition deserved. Learning that Bishop Hevia was spending Christmas in Manila, the three addressed letters to him, reporting their ordeals and begging his mercy and justice. His reply was delivered not to them but to the Rector of the Seminary by his secretary: place the three of them under lock and key. The Rector replied that the Seminary was not a jail, and that Fathers Dacanay, Gaerlan and Garces were priests and would be treated like priests. But on New Year's Eve, he received government orders to transfer them to Bilibid. Thus they reached their final prison, and there they stayed, receiving the spiritual ministrations of Father Viza and composing their *Accounts*—and translating Jose Rizal's "Ultimo Adios" into Ilocano—until the military courts got around to investigating their cases. Not surprisingly, no substantiating evidence was found—"neither documents, proclamations, letters, arms, nor a single blood-incision," as Father Garces said—so they were all released on April 3, 1897.

* * *

To read the "Martyrdoms of the Nine Clergy of Nueva Segovia" from beginning to end is a little ordeal in itself, one that shakes the reader's faith in the nobleness of human nature. Under a new colonial regime, however, the Filipino people themselves were spared this faith-shaking ordeal, thanks to an American

²¹ Isabelo de los Reyes, *La sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina de 1896-1897* (Madrid 1899), p. 25.

school system that suppressed all details of history that might expose the less pleasant aspects of colonialism. Odious comparisons between Spanish Governor Díaz de Cendreras who arrested Father Garces in 1896 and American General Jacob H. ("Howling Wilderness") Smith who arrested him again in 1900, would hardly have contributed to that docile sense of gratitude which was to be instilled in two generations of Filipino subjects. So successfully was the memory of the Ilocano "martyrdoms" erased from the national consciousness that when Father Dacanay was included in the *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* in 1955, no reference was made to that trial by torture which must have been the most significant event in his life. Why then resurrect this 85-year-old tale of brutality and oppression now?

Well, in the first place, with Filipinos sitting in the United Nations Organization as delegates of a sovereign state, there would seem to be no reason to keep the ugly face of imperialism benignly masked. Quite the opposite, in a day when brutality is no longer the prerogative of colonial regimes, it can be argued that it is a service to mankind to call Evil by its own name. And in the second place, the increasing use of brutality by legitimate governments against their own citizens has produced a violent world in which more men live under threat of state torture than do not. And in the third, the parallels with the Filipino experience are sobering: where once lists of Masons were compiled by methods disavowed by Malacañang, so now lists of Communists are produced under the same circumstances. How is such behavior as that of those State servants or Church ministers toward the Nine Clergy of Nueva Segovia to be explained? What are the roots of torture?

It must be said at the outset that it is hard to doubt the veracity of the Filipino accounts. Aside from their palpable ring of truth and the high improbability of the detailed confessions supposedly volunteered, had the military courts entertained any doubt about them, the four priests would certainly have been charged with slander of the most vicious sort. Yet they were all released at a time when the military outcome of the Revolution was being hotly contested and at least a dozen of their brothers of the cloth were supporting the resistance behind insurgent lines. More significantly, they were all reinstated the next year without retractions, punishments, or penitence by the very bishop who must have known the whole truth, and lived on to pursue distinguished careers in their chosen calling. Father Garces continued to be an activist until his untimely death in 1905: he presented a memorial to the Malolos Constitutional Assembly, served as Vicar Forane of Pangasinan, suffered American arrest, and joined the schismatic Aglipayan Church (Iglesia Filipina Inde-

pendiente). Father Dacanay added to his already noteworthy reputation as Ilocano writer and translator of religious works, also suffered American arrest, and died in 1930. Father Espiritu received the Licentiate in Theology from the University of Santo Tomas in 1899, and later occupied important diocesan posts like *Fiscal Eclesiástico*. Father Gaerlan joined the Aglipayan movement in 1902, but later returned to the Church of his fathers.

Spanish testimony was not completely wanting, either. Vital Fité, third ranking official in the Ilocos Norte provincial government at the time, wrote three years later:

In San Fernando, La Union, Román Florentino was selected as the key of the [supposed] movement because he had won a case over the nullity of a debt contracted in illegal gambling against Pablo del Moral, who was married to the daughter of his deceased relative, Fray Florencio [del Moral], former parish priest of Aringay. Together with Florentino, his closest relatives and friends were put in jail, and by means of the aforesaid tortures they managed to implicate the physician D. Luciano Almeida and notary D. Ireneo Javier as chiefs of the ill-fated rebellion, and the priests D. Adriano Garces, D. Mariano Dacanay, and D. Mariano Garcilan [sic]. The latter were barbarously beaten despite their religious calling, and from two of them denunciations were obtained of many rich men of Ilocos Sur, Pangasinan, and Abra.²²

Connoisseurs of evil will have noted that the behavior itself ranged from hot blood to cold. While Father Olaso was giving vent to sadistic ferocity in the Vigan Seminary, Bishop Hevia was keeping his own role covert and hands clean in the episcopal palace across the plaza, while Father Redondo was studiously producing false confessions in his own penmanship. There were actually two plots—one in La Union and one in Vigan—both fabricating murderous conspiracies if not out of whole cloth, at least out of fabric no more substantial than deliberate rumors. Indeed, there may actually have been a still larger plot, for at the same time the Ilocano priests were being flogged by officers of the *Guardia Civil*, four others from Bicol were undergoing the same treatment at the hands of Augustinian *verdugos* in the oldest convento in Manila. They had been arrested in Camarines Sur the same day their Ilocano brothers were ordered to Vigan, and Father Gabriel Prieto was sent to his doom in Manila the same day Father Gaerlan was handed over to his fate in San Fernando.

²² Vital Fité, *Las Desdichas de la Patria* (Madrid 1899), p. 110.

It is possible, of course, that some of the men arrested were guilty of subversion in general terms even if not of the acts they were forced falsely to confess. Some of them were prominent Masons or propagators of the revolutionary gospel, and many fought in the Revolution of '98 and occupied positions under the Revolutionary Government. But the opposite is just as possible—namely, that they were maltreated not because they were revolutionaries but that they became revolutionaries precisely because of their maltreatment. The three Guiraldas of Candon, for example, father and sons, returned from their Bilibid incarceration confirmed supporters of Katipunan goals.

The La Union plot was a masterpiece of intrigue and ingenuity: it took two months—and no small loss of blood—to perfect, and was marred only by a few blunders like putting such expressions in the mouths of Masons as “our sacred sect,” and confusing the Katipunan with Freemasonry. Filipino sources give Fray Rafael Redondo full credit for this villainous triumph: he is referred to matter-of-factly as its author in an official document from the people of Candon to President Aguinaldo on January 23, 1899, and in a 1911 memoir of the Revolution by Roberto Guirnalda, and there are still elderly Ilocanos who can recite the details as they learned them in their childhood from the lips of actual victims. Provincial Governor Enrique Polo reporting his death in 1898, however, more delicately refers to “revenge for the rather unbending nature of his personality.”²³

The Vigan plot, in contrast, was clumsy in the extreme. Based on two letters supposedly delivered through the postal service from Balabac penal colony in Palawan in the unheard-of time of 15 days, it would have required the exhibit in court of the two envelopes with their cancelled stamps. When this oversight finally occurred to the plotters, the Rector desperately called Deacon Carbonel in at the last hour and accused him of having stolen one of them. “But, Father,” the Deacon replied, “how is it that the letter is in the Government House while the envelope was in your Reverence’s quarters?” Any answer would have called attention to the fact that the Seminary was tampering with the Government mails, so Father Fernández angrily stripped Deacon Carbonel of his cassock and turned him over to the Civil Guards. Clumsier still, notices kept appearing in friar organs in both Manila and Madrid which, if true, would have been confidential details known only to military courts trying sensitive cases still *sub judice*. Nor did they stop there. Two weeks after their vic-

²³ “Estado de las Provincias de ambos Ilocos en Abril de 1898,” Vigan, 19 April 1898, National Archives, *Sediciones y Rebeldes*, NA-19 (1874-1898), Book 1.

tims were released, Fray Eduardo Navarro published a book which soberly recounted the calumnies as actual historic incidents of an insurrection he called the "height of ingratitude and an abominable mixture of base passions."²⁴

What is remarkable about all this deviant behavior is that it was being practiced by Spaniards who must have been the most principled men in the colony—priests and provincial governors. It is therefore easiest to explain by recourse to their own principles. These have been summarized by a modern Augustinian author in one succinct statement: "The highest norm of their conduct was love of Spain."²⁵ In practice, this seems to have meant the subordination of all precepts of honesty, justice and charity to the goal of preserving that social structure which placed them in positions of power and privilege, and the destruction of any force or person that threatened it. Thus the sanctity of the state and the blasphemy of subversion justified any immorality or illegality to attain that end, and excluded all insurgents from common considerations of human decency.²⁶ In the 1890's, Spanish state and society seemed to be endangered by rebellion overseas and anarchism at home. The Cuban Revolution broke out in February 1895, and shocked Spaniards by what they considered its savagery. Cuban General Máximo Gómez, being unable to match Spain's 100,000 troops, waged a war of economic attrition that by January 1896 was burning canefields within sight of Havana itself. The next June, an anarchist bomb was thrown into a public procession on Corpus Christi Day in Barcelona, and public outrage unloosed an orgy of arbitrary arrests and revolting tortures in Montjuich Castle. Thus when Father Dacanay's tormentors suggested squeezing his testicles on the beach in San Fernando, they were simply alluding to the latest techniques from Peninsular dungeons.

But torture in the Philippines also had racist overtones, especially in the case of mestizo Volunteer Enrique Lete whose sadism may have been a subconscious desire to identify with Spaniards rather than *indios*. (Mena Crisologo later wrote a zarzuela called

²⁴ Eduardo Navarro, *Filipinas: estudio de algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Madrid 1897), p. viii.

²⁵ Teófilo Aparicio, *La persecución religiosa y la Orden de S. Agustín en la independencia de Filipinas* (Valladolid 1973), p. 152.

²⁶ While these lines were being written, Pope John Paul II was delivering a message in Malacañang Palace in which he said:

"Even in exceptional situations that may at times arise, one can never justify any violation of the fundamental dignity of the human person or of the basic rights that safeguard this dignity. Legitimate concern for the security of the nation, as demanded by the common good, could lead to the temptation of subjugating to the State the human being and his or her dignity and rights."—*Daily Express*, February 17, 1981.

"Neneng" in which a Filipino playboy who joined the Volunteers because the friars were imprisoning Masons is greeted with cries of "Traitor!") Beds, tables, and chairs being symbols of social advancement for the Filipino *tao*, the Ilocano clergy were made to sleep on the bare floor, eat plain rice without utensils, and suffer wounds which made it impossible for them to sit on chairs. As W. E. Retana wrote sarcastically in Madrid in January 1898:

To those who know the common *indios* in the Philippines, the sight of Aguinaldo and his troupe lodged in one of the better hotels in Hongkong could hardly fail to provoke a good laugh. And they, accustomed to eating with their hands while squatting on their heels, must have made the sign of the cross on seeing all those plates and silverware.²⁷

Racism may also explain the special ferocity of young Father Olaso and Blanco: they were both new in the Philippines and at the time had just been transferred to the Seminary from one-year assignments in Igorot mission stations.

The reason the friar faculty in Vigan appeared in military uniforms and that bayonets were so handy in the Seminary was that they were all reserve officers in the newly formed Volunteers. The Vigan unit was sworn in on October 12, and when Fray Gabino Olaso kicked Father Dacanay in the head, he had just been unanimously elected their chaplain. The Ilocos Augustinians had been looking for subversion since the 1880's as a matter of fact, and used to accuse Recoleta Bishop Cuartero of being too fond of Filipinos to notice it. But most friars had guns anyway. When the Government required all these to be registered in January 1897, the Dominican Provincial took the occasion to "give some advice about the use of firearms":

Repeating rifles, Mausers, etc., are unsuitable arms for the religious calling, which no Religious should use except in very exceptional circumstances, and therefore their acquisition is hardly in conformity with sacred canon and the religious poverty which we have embraced. Therefore, we exhort your Reverences to follow ancient custom and be satisfied with a hunting rifle of some sort, or at most a revolver for self defense in case of individual need because of the dangers of the times.²⁸

²⁷ *La Política de España en Filipinas*, January 15, 1898.

²⁸ Fray Bartolomé Alvarez del Manzano, O.P., Prior Provincial, Manila, 19 January 1897, *Libro de Ordenes provinciales de Villasis, Pangasinan, 1849-1898*.

Filipino victims themselves wasted no time looking for such background causes for their maltreatment: they were all persuaded they were victims of personal vengeance. Certainly Mena Crisologo had good reason for such suspicions: as the former bishop's ecclesiastical notary, he had formulated all episcopal disciplinary action for five years, including the excommunication of two Augustinians. Father Garces had long been a thorn in friar flesh who, despite opposing their political candidates and hobnobbing with their opponents, had survived their reporting him as subversive once before. And seminarian Francisco Paredes' poor old father, lying on the floor of the Government House in Vigan with a bad case of eczema and his hands tied behind his back, believed his only crime had been to take his daughter out of a girls school founded by Bishop Hevia with imported nuns as faculty. As one of his sympathetic cellmates luridly recounted the story ten years later:

Procopio had a young daughter, and sent her to add to the small education she had, but unfortunately when she grew older in that school, the Bishop used to visit every morning and afternoon, and then even at night, and noticed that Procopio's virtuous daughter was the most beautiful of all the girls there. And although a lover never changes the object of his affections no matter how ugly he may be, the Bishop began to neglect his cherished *mamadres*, and the girl, because they would then have rejected her except for her studies, resented their treatment and did not like them. The Bishop, his fever mounting, exhausted every ploy and amorous advance to obtain the full fruits of his yearning but when the girl realized the heat of his passion, she notified old Procopio, her father, who immediately came and took his daughter out of that school.²⁹

However exaggerated or untrue these scandalous suspicions may have been, the friars who were their objects seem to have had no second thoughts about end goals justifying even passionately deviant means. At least, one of them who left the Ilocos under threat of excommunication rushed into print with the following accolade as soon as he learned the details of their performance:

It is a glorious triumph for the Augustinian Order that

²⁹ "Poon ti ili a Candon" (1911), Ayer MS 1713a, Newberry Library (Chicago, Illinois). I am indebted to Mr. David Tabooy of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary for assistance with this translation from Ilocano.

its sons, successors of Urdaneta, Martín de Rada, and Diego de Herrera, should have discovered the three nerve centers of the present nefarious insurrection—in Manila, Father Fray Mariano Gil, parish priest of Tondo; in the Province of La Union, Father Fray Rafael Redondo, parish priest of San Fernando; and in Ilocos Sur, the Fathers in charge of the Seminary in Vigan. All of them deserve reward from the Fatherland for benefits so singular and so worthy of encomium.³⁰

It was this passage which stretched to the breaking point the patience of two of the conspiracy's most distinguished victims—President Gregorio Sy-Quia of the Vigan Ayuntamiento and Malolos Congressional Delegate Mena Crisologo. Invoking the name of justice, therefore, they addressed a petition to the President of the Republic on November 5, 1898, which presented evidence to warrant the appointment of a military court to try the persons named as respondents to charges of calumny, frustrated murder, and falsification of documents; it specified the respondents' current whereabouts, and requested their apprehension and transfer for trial to the scene of the alleged crimes, and imprisonment if found guilty with confiscation of their property to cover the cost of the proceedings. Accompanying the petition was a twelve-page supplementary document entitled, "The Vigan Conspiracy" by Don Mena, which presented an account of the activities of the accused with the factual details that would have been available to an official of Don Mena's position at the time—Legal Representative of the Town Council (*Síndico del Ayuntamiento*). It was also enlivened by a few personal touches such as the following:

Upon our arrival in Manila, we were conducted to Bilibid with elbows bound, and crudely insulted by Spanish ladies in the streets through which we passed, including one Señora on a balcony who shouted out this affectionate taunt at the top of her lungs, "Kill the dogs!"³¹

Don Mena began "The Vigan Conspiracy" by quoting the passage from Eduardo Navarro's *Filipinas* already cited. To this he responded with a statement of his own motivations for committing the story to writing. It was a simple statement, but it provides one final and compelling reason for reviving the tale of

³⁰ Navarro, op. cit., p. 252.

³¹ National Library, Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 974.3.

the Nine Clergy of Nueva Segovia. It is as follows:

As one of the victims, he who writes these poorly penned phrases desires to perpetuate those meritorious friars' memorable deed by transmitting their names to posterity so that they may never again be forgotten by the generations to come.³²

³² Ibid.

Struggle for Independence in Candon

Like many towns in the Philippines, Candon (Ilocos Sur), has a public plaza with a statue of a patriot brandishing a bolo overhead in one hand and clutching a red flag in the other. To the casual tourist, this may look like another Andres Bonifacio, but to the people of Candon he is "Ilocos Sur's last rebel"—Isabelo Abaya, leader of the Candon Uprising of March 25, 1898, a date which for years was better known to Candon children as the *Ikkis ti Kandon* ("Cry of Candon") than as the Feast of the Annunciation.

The hero thus memorialized was Federico Isabelo Abaya, born in 1866 to well-to-do Proceso and Severa Abaya. Contemporaries remembered him as an indifferent and resentful student, shy and uninterested in class activities, who reacted bitterly against the monotony of memorizing long passages in Spanish. The experience produced a hearty dislike of that language he came to consider the symbol of submission to a colonial regime which placed the parish priest in a position to interfere in private and public affairs, and Civil Guards in a position to maltreat local citizens in or out of the line of duty. Such was the attitude which resulted in his leaving the Vigan Seminary where he had been sent to complete the secondary course. From these disappointing school days, he found relief in becoming a better horseman than his two elder brothers, and devoted his time to his parents' stable of spirited animals from the nearby province of Abra. Young Belong's youth therefore exhibited the classic earmarks of a late 19th-century rebel—resentment of formal education and rejection of authority, shyness covering an inner bitterness, and the virile gratification of galloping spirited horses across open fields.

It was not as a youth, however, but as a 33-year-old businessman dealing in cotton textiles that Belong joined—or perhaps formed—a subversive society called the *Espíritu de Candón*. His comrades were Pio Madarang, Toribio Abaya, Nazario Gray, the Guirnalda brothers Fernando and Francisco, his own brother Manuel, and his nephews, Manuel, Jr., and Leon. On March 24 of that fateful year of 1898, Nazario Gray was arrested and tor-

tured and at an official banquet that night, a Spanish mestizo by the name of Arturo Liqueste who was one of Belong's friends, learned that the authorities had a complete list of the underground members. He immediately warned Isabelo, who decided to take action at once. Accordingly, he gathered his followers together, armed with homemade guns, spears, bolos, clubs, and axes, and at two o'clock the next morning, led them into the plaza. They fell on the guard quarters, seized and wounded its commander, and received the surrender of all the Civil Guards. They then took the convento, and led parish priest Rafael Redondo and two young friar visitors out to the suburbs of Bucong and beheaded them. Then the red flag of revolt was run up the flagpole in the town square, and the so-called Republic of Candon was born.

Two days later, however, the Spaniards landed shock troops at Pating southwest of the municipal center. Captain Belong had marched north to take Santiago, and his other forces had gone east and south in two separate columns. The town was thus undefended when Spanish *cazadores* ("hunters") marched in unopposed. Most of the rebel forces disbanded, but leaders like Isabelo and the Guirnalda brothers escaped. Both Fernando and Francisco were later captured in Tubao (La Union), but escaped to Pangasinan, where Francisco disappeared and was never seen again. In Candon, meanwhile, Manuel, Leon and Toribio Abaya were executed, along with Desiderio Agbulos, Victorino Gadut, Urbano Galac, Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, Pio Madarang, Severo Paredes, and Father Valentin Rubio.

The intrepid Isabelo made his way into the Igorot mountains to the east, and subsequently served in the Revolutionary Army under Colonel Manuel Tinio, recruiting Igorots whom he led in the Battle of Caloocan at the beginning of the Philippine-American War in February 1899. A year later he became commander of guerrilla forces in southern Ilocos under Colonel Juan Villamor, and was killed in action on May 3, 1900. The American military command desecrated his body by displaying it bloody in the plaza at the spot where the present monument stands. *Kapitan Belong* quickly passed into legend both in U.S. field reports and the hearts of the people of Candon—an unscrupulous bandit warlord to the one, a patriotic Robin Hood to the others, complete with wonder-working *anting-anting*.

Such is the story of the Candon Uprising as it is known to the people of Candon and as it has been told from time to time in Sunday supplements and souvenir programs of town fiestas.¹

¹ I am indebted for discussion of the Candon legend to Attorney Joselino

Like the more famous uprising of Andres Bonifacio 17 months earlier, it occurred by accident because of the premature disclosure of its plot. But while Bonifacio's plans, had they not been aborted, are well known, the plans of Isabelo Abaya and his comrades have never been explained. What would have happened in Candon had Nazario Gray not been arrested and tortured on March 24? Were Isabelo and his followers dreaming, in that revolutionary twilight zone between Biyak-na-Bato and the Battle of Manila Bay, of a little Ilocano republic, a Republic of the Philippines with its capital at Candon? Just how local were their plans and how isolated their movement? What, in short, was the contribution of the Candon Uprising to the cause of Philippine independence, and its role in Philippine history?

These are questions which recommend an examination of the Candon Uprising in the brighter light of the total Philippine Revolution.

* * *

Candon in the 1890's was a prosperous provincial town with a proud history whose native name memorialized the fact that Spanish conquistadores had recognized its prominence before any missionary friar arrived to rededicate it to some European saint. *Kandong* is a kind of tree, and the original specimen lives on in local legend. Under its branches, old folks say, mountain traders bearing the products of mines and forests used to gather until some Spanish friar recognized its implications for ancestor worship and chopped it down for lumber to build his church. And under its branches, too, were held those legendary wrestling matches which reflect a day when Candon chieftains were far-ranging warriors called *maingel* ("braves") besting Ilocano, Igorot and Pangasinan champions alike. Similarly, Candon's two largest families, the Abayas and Madarangs, being of Igorot descent, proudly maintained those surnames in the face of Governor Claveria's 1849 decree which fastened names like Gacula, Gironella, and Guirnalda on more tractable families.

An exposition of local products which accompanied the town fiesta of 1892 gives a nice sampling of the community's commercial vitality. Agricultural products were divided into six

Abaya, who first told me the story in 1959; to Mr. Jose P. Alcance, author of the unpublished "Candon: yesterday and today"; to Mr. Leandro B. Ablang, authority and author of many articles in English and Ilocano about the resistance movements in Ilocos, particularly "The cry of Candon" (*Philippines Free Press*, Mar. 26, 1960) and "Ilocos Sur's last rebel" (*Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1961); and to anthropologist Patricia Torres for sharing her 1981 field notes.

categories, one of which was medicinal plants, exhibited by "native *herbolarios* of both sexes who will give instruction in their qualities."² Mineral products included Igorot gold, copper from Mankayan, and iron from Gambang. Silver medals were presented to Mena Crisologo of Vigan for an entry of 113 hundred-weight of top-quality indigo produced in his plant that year; to Roberto Guirnalda for a machine he invented out of bamboo for processing maguey; to Nazario Gray for an exhibition of cows, mares, stallions, sheep, goats and kids; to Placido Guirnalda for a native Aeta house together with its inhabitants and a descriptive catalogue of their life and customs; to Francisco Teofisto Guirnalda for an entry of 18 different kinds of edible root crops collected in the municipality; to Victorino Abaya for a display of decorated seashells he worked himself; and to Isabelo Abaya for a display of textiles, blankets, and table linens woven of Ilocano cotton.

Nor was the exhibition without its cultural aspirations. Ilocano publications and manuscripts were exhibited along with books in other languages dealing with Ilocos, as well as artifacts and weapons from inhabitants of the Candon mountains. Gold medals were awarded Fray Rufino Redondo of San Juan for his novels and short stories in Ilocano, and to Isabelo de los Reyes for a complete three-year run of his biweekly *El Ilocano*, as well as copies of his own writings in German, Ilocano, Italian, Spanish, and Tagalog. And the Spanish Baguer Barbero zarzuela troupe came all the way from Manila to perform for the occasion, moving *El Comercio* to a good-natured allusion to Ilocano thrift, "May they bring back a lot of fifty-centavo pieces from the good Ilocanos."³

Such commercial potential and cultural pretensions were the characteristics of a Filipino bourgeoisie eager for reforms, who considered the friar orders the major obstacles to obtaining them. The friars in turn considered such reforms a direct threat to both their power and prestige and the very system which provided it. Unable or unwilling to distinguish loyalty to Faith from loyalty to the State, they lumped all dissension together under the subversive heading of Masonry, whether criticism of their personal failings or actual plots against the security of the state. Thus when the Revolution broke out in 1896, all the Ilocano prize-winners listed above were arrested and imprisoned except one, Isabelo Abaya. If Isabelo was overlooked because of his youth or lack of prestige, his exclusion was an example of the friar penchant for picking

² *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Jan. 7, 1893.

³ *Op. cit.*, Nov. 4, 1892.

the wrong targets, for he was the only one of the Candon proprietors who took up arms against Spain in the Revolution of '96.

There is no evidence, or even likelihood, of any Masonic lodges in Ilocos in August 1896, much less of any Katipunan cells or underground plots to overthrow the colonial regime by armed force. Yet counterrevolutionary fury broke over the Ilocos provinces like a tropical typhoon just two weeks after the Cry of Pugad Lawin in Manila. It struck San Fernando (La Union) first on September 10, with the arrest of a hapless telegrapher who was forced to confess the existence of an assassination plot which was sheer fabrication, and pinpoint both its supposed agents and their targets. Three days later, 28 men had been implicated by the same method, and on the 17th their number was increased by three Filipino priests. Then the storm center moved north to the Seminary where, early in November, a 60-year-old priest was beaten into naming the cream of Vigan society as a Masonic cabal, and by the end of the month five seminarians had signed confessions of having been plotting to murder all their professors. From Vigan, the storm swept on into Ilocos Norte where it finally blew itself out in a little one-friar reign of terror in Sarat which reduced 20 men to incarceration and torture.

The machiavellian mastermind behind the mother plot was Fray Rafael Redondo, parish priest of San Fernando and Vicar Forane of La Union. Fray Rafael was an absolute caricature of a friar, whose own bishop's reports read like something out of a Rizal novel:

From the time he arrived in the Diocese, I noticed he must be having illicit relations in Cabugao. He was confronted with the case, and after consultation it was considered best to transfer him to Santa, where he is continuing his relations with the same woman, and they already have three children which public opinion attributes to Father Redondo.⁴

But not even Rizal ever painted such vignettes of cold-blooded calm in acting out so villainous a scenario. Fray Rafael not only wrote out the original score in his own hand—that is, the questions and the correct answers his victims were supposed to supply—but orchestrated their continuing torment to bring conflicting confessions into harmony. When his own coadjutor, Father Mariano Gaerlan, begged on bended knees to retract his forced

⁴ Fray Mariano Cuartero to Fray Manuel Diez, Manila, Aug. 31, 1885, Archivo General de la Orden de Agustinos Recoletos, Rome, Caja 60. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Angel Martinez Cuesta, OAR, for a copy of this letter.

confession he told him coldly that no honest man could be forced to sign a false confession even if they killed him. And when Father Dacanay, lying prostrate on the floor of his cell wet with wounds which would leave lifelong scars, pleaded for the solace of the sacraments, he turned his back and strode out, mumbling something about "souls in hell."⁵

Lino Abaya, Candon's richest citizen, had been caught in the Vigan witch-hunt, so his townmates watched the terror mounting to north and south with increasing apprehension. Just then, their parish priest of 30 years died, scholarly old Fray Gaspar Cano, author of the first biographical catalogue of his Order in the Philippines. His interim replacement was 24-year-old Fray Pedro Ordóñez on his first parish assignment, and his youth posed the threat that he might be influenced by his more sanguinary superiors, but also held out the possibility that his head might be turned by flattery. They therefore decided to mount an extravagant town fiesta to win his good will—or, as one of them put it, "kiss his behind"—*agkan amin nga ubet ti cura*.⁶

Candon's official patron is San Juan de Sahagun, whose feast-day is celebrated on June 12, but the town traditionally honors Santa Barbara on December 4 in a kind of second town fiesta. Thus the nervous townsfolk had a ready excuse for providing their new rector with a rousing welcome, and so they began their preparations early in November. They decided to present a second theatrical number this year as an added attraction to the usual Ilocano moro-moro, a Spanish zarzuela called *El Rey que rabio* (The King who went mad) which had been a howling success in Madrid and Manila only the year before, and had never been shown in the provinces at all. But on the night of November 26, while Roberto Guirnalda was rehearsing the moro-moro in his house and his son Placido was teaching the zarzuela songs in the town hall, the Civil Guards burst in and arrested Roberto, his sons Fernando and Francisco, and Victorino Abaya. The four of them were carted off to Vigan that same night, and kept there with elbows bound behind their backs for 16 days of what modern counterinsurgency terminology would call "shrewd questioning." Despite this ordeal, they kept insisting they didn't even know what a Mason was, so they were all shipped off to Manila in irons at the end of December.

If the Guirnaldas really didn't know what a Mason was, there

⁵ "Relatos varios o Martirios de los nueve Clérigos de Nueva Segovia," fol. 15v (Feb. 4, 1897), Archives of the University of Santo Tomas, Sección "Historia eclesiástica de Filipinas."

⁶ "Poon ti ili a Candon" (1911), Ayer MS 1713a, Newberry Library (Chicago, Illinois).

was no better place to find out than the Department of Distinguished Political Prisoners in the Bilibid Military Prison. There they could mingle not only with Masons but with Katipuneros and revolutionaries of every stripe, and compare notes with members of their own class who had had splinters inserted under their fingernails or electric current applied to their private parts. There they could read an Ilocano translation of a poem Dr. Jose Rizal had smuggled out of Fort Santiago the night before his death, and listen to rumors about how friars had printed subversive pamphlets on their own press and got a *Carabinero* who was Archbishop Nozaleda's nephew to insert them in his sister's luggage. But most significantly, there they could hobnob with that human dynamo of a province-mate, rebel journalist Isabelo de los Reyes, who was devoting his full time to interviewing prisoners, disseminating gossip, and writing a series of articles so sensational he was soon afterwards deported to Spain's choicest dungeons in Montjuich Castle, Barcelona. It must have been a political education the Guirnaldas did not quickly forget.

* * *

Early in April 1897, the military courts released those prisoners charged in Father Redondo's fake conspiracy, and Father Redondo himself was transferred out of San Fernando to spare him their vengeance. The Guirnaldas were released on the King's birthday, May 17, but it took them three months and considerable expense in gifts for Auditor General of War Nicolas Paña to get clearance to leave Manila. When they reached Candon on August 13, they learned—to their horror, no doubt—that their new parish priest was Rafael Redondo. They presented themselves dutifully to kiss his hand, but he minced no words in telling them he didn't believe they were innocent at all, and was sure they were each the head of an insurgent gang. Their release by military jurisdiction he dismissed loftily: after all, they had been released not because their innocence had been proved, but because their guilt had not been. Unable to reply to such logic, the Guirnaldas decided to stay out of his way as much as possible.

Fray Rafael seems to have been intent on living up to a reputation that made English author John Foreman ready to believe he had beaten his Filipino coadjutor with the prickly tail of a ray-fish, stripped naked, and tied to a bench. Before the year was out, he had confined coadjutor Valentin Rubio to the convento, enlisted the Civil Guard *Teniente del Puerto* as his crony, and intimidated the whole town. He had his daily rations of eggs, chickens, firewood, and cattle fodder doubled, required the church to be re-

paired without supplying materials, demanded an extra servant, and refused to pay for any of these services as his young predecessor had perhaps naively done. The municipal petty officers were caught between ingratiating themselves with the friar and the commander, and avoiding vengeance from their oppressed townmates. The Guirnaldas observed the developing contradictions in the light of the lessons they had learned in Bilibid, and started to worry about the possibility of an uprising that would wreak its vengeance not only on friar oppressors but on upper-class townmates as well. As soon as the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato was signed, therefore, they sent Francisco to Manila to find out what was going on.

What was going on was that one of their provincemates, the prominent Isabelo Artacho of Vigan, was trying to recruit an anti-Aguinaldo faction among the remaining officers of the defunct Biyak-na-Bato government. As reported by Francisco's brother Fernando 14 years later:

He [Artacho] consulted many Tagalog leaders about a plan for another revolution for, he said, Don Emilio would never return, then being very rich in Hongkong and caring no more for the Philippines and the cause for which the Filipino patriots had suffered so much. So when Francisco Guirnalda went to see his Tagalog friend, he was warmly received by the latter. They spoke of the Hongkong affair and the probable consequent uprising, and then Francisco was asked if he had forgotten how much he had suffered. Francisco signified his willingness to join in the proposed uprising and signed an agreement for himself and his brother and father. Then he returned to Candon, where he related all that he had observed and done, and his brother and father readily approved of his actions.⁷

The peace treaty also brought Isabelo Abaya home, for he had been among those who laid down their arms at Biyak-na-Bato. He must have left Candon early in the Revolution because when he recruited some Igorots in western Bontoc in 1897, he invoked the name of Bonifacio, not Aguinaldo. According to three of the Igorots themselves—Degan, Bodkaw and Dakwag of Sagada (Mountain Province)—he took them to San Juan del Monte and enrolled them in a secret society called *Iglesia Monástica Filipina*,

⁷ Fernando Guirnalda, "The Republic of Candon" (1912), *The Silliman Journal*, Vol. 26 (1979), p. 33.

Guirnalda mistakenly thought Artacho had accompanied Aguinaldo to Hongkong and had just returned after a quarrel with him there.

which was separatist in purpose, and eventually grew to a membership of more than a thousand.⁸ There they were taught to drill with arms and recite Christian prayers. They also reported that they were paid off at Biyak-na-Bato, which probably means that they had served under Artemio "Vibora" Ricarte (an Ilocano whose real name was Dodon) since he was the only general there who surrendered twelve spears in addition to the usual firearms, swords and bolos. And it was probably their presence, too, which inspired Retana's sarcastic references to Aguinaldo's "Igorot army" and to the ceremonies themselves as having been celebrated with "banquets, flimflam, embraces, and parades of *indios* in G-strings."⁹

At the time Francisco Guirnalda was making his Katipunan commitment in Manila, General Francisco Soliman Makabulos of Tarlac was still holding out in O'Donell. On January 14, he went through the formality of surrender, collected his share of the second Pact payment, and went home to prepare for the renewal of hostilities. By the end of February, he had established contacts throughout the Central Plain as far north as Lingayen Gulf, where Mangatarem was fortified on the Zambales border in the west, and San Nicolas in the Agno Valley in the east. This was a movement into Ilocano-speaking territory, and the Ilocos provinces were in fact a natural place to seek support for the continuing struggle: they had escaped destruction during the war but were a deep reservoir of resentment from the traumatic arrests of '96. La Union in particular was full of amnestied prisoners and deportees ready to act, and an incident which occurred in Agoo at the time indicates just how explosive the atmosphere was.

The Bishop of Nueva Segovia (Vigan) sent a complaint to the Governor General against a Balabac returnee by the name of Mariano Orenca for not having shown due respect to his Vicar Forane during a service on January 18; but Orenca countered with a sworn statement of his own in which he charged that:

On the morning of the 18th, while he was inside the church for the confirmation of his child, his wife told him that his mother had been left outside the building due to the great press of people and that when he went to look for her, he saw Father Mariano García pushing her brutally and threatening to hit her, and that Señor Chinchilla, the Civil Gov-

⁸ Manuel Kiley, "The life and pagan practices of western Sagada," *The University of Baguio Journal*, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 180-181.

⁹ *La Política de España en Filipinas*, Mar. 15, 1898, p. 101.

ernor's Secretary, was about to strike her with a riding crop he was carrying; that in view of such behavior, he went over to the Father and asked him to let them take the child into the church to his wife's breast and, while he was at it, not to hit his mother; that when Father Mariano heard these remarks, he asked him what his name was and upon learning it, said, "Insurgents do not enter the church but deserve to be beaten," and that Señor Chinchilla and the Sergeant of the Civil Guards who were present tried to hit him, so he had no choice but to run away.¹⁰

In February, increasing Katipunan recruitment around Lingayen Gulf attracted government attention, and Governor Navas made a sweep through northern Zambales and Pangasinan at the end of the month, examining men's arms for fresh incisions, and arrested 50 of the local gentry. It was the attempt to march these prisoners to Dasul under death sentence which, according to a contemporary Spanish account, "lit the fuse of the bomb already prepared."¹¹ Attacks were made on military posts from Agno to Anda, 15,000 insurgents fell in Balincaguin (Mabini) alone, telegraph lines to the cable station at Bolinao were cut, and San Nicolas forces entered the Caraballo Sur to strike a Volunteer outpost in Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya. Clearly, it was time for Ilocano leadership and organization. Katipunan chiefs Vicente del Prado and Juan Quesada—soon to become Pangasinan Politico-Military Commandant in the Makabulos underground and Second-in-Command, respectively—accordingly went to Manila to provide it. There, in a house at No. 12 Mapa Street in Tondo, they executed an *acta* on March 16, 1898, which indicated that the Artacho incident had not produced any significant Ilocano-Tagalog dissension:

The undersigned, having previously decided to take to the field of rebellion with their numerous host composed of bolomen [*talibones*] to oppose the harrowing crimes, secret shootings, tortures, violation of honorable girls, etc., etc., directly and decisively, which the friars, the armed forces of the Government, the Civil Guards, and *cazadores* commit daily in the provinces of northern Luzon, have agreed with Don Faustino

¹⁰ Manuel Berand, Manila, Jan. 27, 1898, Philippine National Archives, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, NA-31, Book 3 (1874-1898).

Father Mariano García was killed in a small uprising in Santo Tomas (L.U.) on April 11, 1898, together with Volunteer Lieutenant Enrique Lete, Father Redondo's henchman and the chief torturer in San Fernando in 1896.

¹¹ *La Política de España en Filipinas*, April 3, 1898, p. 156.

Lichauco, industrialist and proprietor, and resident of this capital, that he shortly undertake his voyage to Hong Kong in the first steamer to sail from this port, where the worthy President of the Republic of Biyak-na-Bato will be found, Señor Emilio Aguinaldo, together with various officials of the Revolution which was put down by miserable tricks and false promises by the Government to implement liberal reforms, and pray the said President, in the name of various northern provinces, that he deign to authorize their unfortunate inhabitants to rise up against the Spanish Government so that, upon his return from that colony with his valiant entourage, he will find the volcano of Revolution already erupting there.¹²

This was just a few days after Fernando Guirnalda and Isabelo Abaya told their Candon followers they were going to Manila to get arms from Aguinaldo, and left for San Fernando.

* * *

Fernando Guirnalda and Isabelo Abaya had joined forces sometime in the second half of January 1898. Meeting in a pasture east of the town, they swore a mutual oath "to give their services, and even their lives, to seek the legitimate rights not only of their own townspeople, but also of the whole Philippine Islands."¹³ They organized a Katipunan chapter called *Estrella del Sur* sworn to the same cause, composed mostly of unmarried men from the leading families, and drew up an *Instituto revolucionario* as a pledge and constitution. They bought a small printing press, with which they presumably contributed to the condition a Madrid correspondent reported in the following excited terms: "The two Ilocos provinces were flooded with incendiary proclamations, rules, law codes, ordinances and constitutions of the 'Great Philippine Republic.'"¹⁴ They usually held their meetings in the eastern barrios for security reasons, and traveled up to Cervantes (Lepanto) in the Abra Valley to meet agents from Manila. Elsewhere in the province, they established contacts in Narvacan, Santa Maria, Santa Lucia, Tagudin, and Bangar, and in Ilocos Norte in Lapog, seat of the rich and influential Centeno family. Centeno men were renowned for their personal courage

¹² Philippine National Library, Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 157.

¹³ Guirnalda, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁴ *La Política de España en Filipinas*, May 15, 1898, p. 187.

and leadership, and they spread their revolutionary gospel under cover of horse races and prayer meetings of the *Guardia de Honor*. Faustino and Antonio Centeno had been among the first arrests in 1896, and Enrique had been the Guirnaldas' own cellmate.

Isabelo started organizing and drilling his forces with the classic weapons of a peasant jacquerie—farm implements and sharpened sticks. It is probably a tribute to the efficiency of the Spanish regime that they had not a single firearm among them, nor even a bolo without its point rounded. However, there were only 28 Civil Guards in the whole province (who are referred to in Candon folklore as Spaniards but were actually Filipinos under three or four Spanish officers), and an indeterminate number of civilian reserves called *Voluntarios*. The seven Guards in Candon were soon won over, and Isabelo expected his allies to accomplish the same with the ten in Narvacan and Tagudin. With their rifles and their commanders' revolvers, they would theoretically outgun the remaining eleven Guards in Vigan. If they could depend on their allies and acted quickly enough, they could march to Vigan in eight hours and seize the capital before reinforcements could arrive from Manila. Isabelo therefore went around buying up iron and hired blacksmiths to manufacture bolos with sharp points for all his men. Nonetheless when he and Fernando left for Manila to get orders in the middle of March, he told his men reassuringly that they were going for the purpose of getting arms from Aguinaldo himself.

The two Candon leaders were probably on their way to attend the Tondo meeting, but in San Fernando were turned back by reports that the fighting had already begun. They therefore returned to Candon empty-handed and announced that the uprising was set for Friday, April 1. For the next week, Isabelo was hardly out of the saddle, and Fernando stayed in the barrios all day and only sneaked in to his family at night. But as their enthusiasm mounted, men started swaggering around with those pointed bolos in their belts, and it became impossible to maintain security. On March 23, a certain Eugenio Mati Docena notified Spanish businessman Antonio Bona about what was going on. The next day, a mixed patrol of Civil Guards and Volunteers left Narvacan with search-and-arrest orders. Their sergeant reached Candon that afternoon.

Naturally, Fray Rafael had his own means of learning secrets, and his relations with the people of Candon were worse than ever. Right after Biyak-na-Bato, his Civil Guard crony had been replaced by a Lieutenant Abel Aparici, who turned out to be a very decent family man with two children. Emboldened by this change, the town officials entered an official complaint with

the Governor against their parish priest. Soon afterwards, Father Rubio was released from detention, and Father Redondo's name disappeared from parish registers in favor of Fray Antonio Blanco, professor of physics and chemistry in the Vigan Seminary. On the afternoon of March 24, then, Fray Rafael had one of Isabelo's key men arrested—Nazario Gray, who was taken to the town hall, mauled, and beaten.

The next day would be the Feast of the Annunciation, and an official banquet was scheduled that evening. Two young missionaries had arrived from Kapangan and Bokod in the mountains of Benguet, Fathers Santiago García and Ricardo Montes, and Father Anacleto Fernández of Cabacan was expected in the morning. One of the dinner guests happened to be a Spanish mestizo by the name of Juan Gonzales Liqueste who was sympathetic to the Filipino cause. During the course of the evening, he learned that the authorities had a complete list of the Katipunan membership, so he contrived to send his nephew, Arturo Liqueste, to warn them. Isabelo was in the seaside barrio of Tamurong drilling his men, and had already heard about the impending search for arms. This new information left him with no choice but to act. He decided to attack that night.

A crescent moon set early that night, and it was pitch dark when Isabelo struck the Civil Guard quarters with a handpicked band at three o'clock on Friday morning, March 25, 1898. The Guards made no resistance and jumped out the windows, but Lieutenant Aparici leaped up from bed, fought valiantly, and was seriously wounded. At the same time, the general signal was given in the town plaza—prolonged rolling on the drum from the tribunal. The sergeant from Narvacan was awakened by the noise in the house where he was spending the night with a friend, leaped out the window in his underclothes, and took to his heels. He reached Santa Lucia at dawn, and then waited impatiently when two sacristans refused to interrupt Fray Clemente Hidalgo until he finished saying mass. Then the sergeant and the priest crossed the river to Santa Cruz, got a boat, and set sail for San Fernando, the nearest telegraph station, to give the alarm.

Back in Candon, a mob of 300 broke into the convento compound and sacked the building, but the three friars had fled into the church to hide. There they were seized, Fray Rafael praying at the foot of the high altar, and his two young visitors rather ridiculously trying to hide behind the images of saints. They were taken to the municipal hall, where Fernando Guirnalda gave them a lecture:

You, Friar Redondo, are the cause of all this trouble. When

you had sated yourself with tormenting the people of La Union, you came here to Candon to continue your cruel practices. You know that all you friars were sent here to be the spiritual leaders of the people, but when you acquired wealth and became powerful, you overstepped your rights. Instead of teaching the people what is right, you taught them only how to serve you like slaves. You ought to be the Father of Souls, but instead you have become the fathers of numerous families. You have numerous sons who serve only to increase our miseries, for you require us to serve and support them, too. You are not content with only one wife, but tens of them. And now you want us only to suffer more, for you wish that only the ignorant and servile should survive. Since the Government is not powerful enough to check your excesses, the people have to assume their rights, and be your judges.¹⁵

The friars were then placed under guard in the house of Arturo Liqueste, where perhaps they did what Guirnalda suggested—"Wait for the verdict of the people and pray to God that they may be lenient with you."¹⁶ Other Spanish residents were put under house arrest in their own homes, and town officials like Mayor Guillermo Alviar and Justice of the Peace Candido Abaya were taken under protective custody, both because of their pro-Spanish sentiments and to protect them from popular vengeance. Then the revolutionaries gathered in the convento to establish their government.

Fernando Guirnalda was named President and Isabelo Abaya Commander-in-Chief. The armed forces were divided into three divisions totaling more than a thousand men, but with only eight rifles and two revolvers among them. Isabelo himself took command of the First Division, and his two nephews—Manuel, Jr., and Leon—of the Third; Francisco Guirnalda was appointed to the Second Division with Alejandro Madarang and Francisco Gironella as adjutants. A doctor and nurses were named for a military hospital, and a Filipino priest as chaplain. (This was probably Father Pedro de la Vega, coadjutor since Father Cano's day, since Father Rubio's commission, unfortunately for him as it turned out, was as Councilor of the Republic.) Placido Guirnalda was named Secretary of the Interior, and commissions as chiefs (*cabecillas*) or councilors were issued to Poseido Abaya, Modesto Dario, Manuel Leon, Arturo and Juan Gonzales Liqueste, Justo Madarang, Carlos Ruiz, and Pablo Valocis. All these appointments were made on printed forms displaying the seal of the

¹⁵ Guirnalda, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

new republic, but administrative orders were issued on ordinary parish stationary. (Spanish historian Manuel Sastrón commented indignantly, "The rebels did not even bother to erase that seal which was the symbol of a role so contrary to that which the revolutionaries were assigning it.")¹⁷ President Guirnalda then ceremoniously read the Program Constitution to the assembly, explained the goals of the uprising, and inaugurated the convento as the capital of the republic. Then on the flagstaff in front of the building, they solemnly raised the red banner, not of the Republic of Candon, but of the "Katipunan Republic of the Philippines."

General Abaya immediately moved north with the First Division and three rifles. On the outskirts, they encountered two of the Civil Guards sent to make the arrests the day before: one was hacked to death and the other escaped. At the southern end of the Salaw Bridge between Candon and Santiago they dug trenches, but when they reached Santiago, they found some 40 Volunteers and the remainder of the Civil Guards barricaded in the convento, and the Spanish residents under the protection of Mayor Elias Mendoza. For 24 hours they besieged the convento but did not have the firepower to take it, while they themselves were exposed to the marksmanship of sharpshooters inside. On the 26th, Isabelo arranged a parley with the Mayor, who agreed to let the municipal officers decide the issue. But the insurgents soon discovered that all those officials had disappeared, so they retaliated by putting their houses, stores and granaries to the torch. That evening the defenders withdrew, presumably for want of ammunition, and headed for Vigan. At Santa Maria they discovered that Provincial Commander Mariano Arqués had arrived and fortified the church and convento which occupied a strategic location overlooking the town and commanding the road.

The Second Division marched south for Tagudin with three rifles under the command of Francisco Guirnalda. From the outskirts, they sent scouts in to contact the local chiefs and find out if the Civil Guards had defected or not. They were told that they had all left town, so they started off in pursuit of them. But as soon as they reached the plaza, they discovered they had been betrayed: the Guards were actually fortified in the convento and they now opened fire. The Second Division returned the fire as best they could, and tried to set fire to the building but couldn't find enough dry grass for tinder. So, after sustaining one death and many wounds, they retreated in confusion to reform in the

¹⁷ *La insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra hispano-americana en el Archipiélago* (Madrid 1901), pp. 349-350.

outskirts. But as soon as they had withdrawn, the Civil Guards and Spanish families escaped to the south, leaving the town—and its treacherous officers—to the republican forces.

The Third Division headed east to Coveta and Salcedo with two rifles, overran the barrios and crisscrossed the countryside, and encountered no resistance. They happened to run into Fray Anacleto Fernández of Cabacan on his way in to the Feast of the Annunciation in Candon, so they took him captive and marched him off to Salcedo. There, the *gobernadorcillo's* old father successfully pleaded for his life, so he survived to be rescued by Spanish troops. The next day, they blocked a patrol from the Politico-Military Commandancy of Tiagan on the crest of the Malaya Range which separates the Ilocos coast from the Abra Valley. Tiagan Commandant Eduardo Fanén Moreno had received word of the uprising from the Narvacan command that morning, and had sent that patrol out under a Spanish sergeant. It returned in the afternoon with the report of having encountered a force of 600 insurgents with no firearms, and having spent 200 rounds of ammunition to cover their retreat. Fanén thereupon called in the small detachment from Ling-ey nearby and concentrated his forces and Spanish families in the fort in Tiagan. The Abaya brothers then sacked the cuartel in Ling-ey and the mission station in Concepcion—but spared the church ornaments—and headed back to Salcedo.

Back in Candon the same day, treacherous Eugenio Mati was unwisely commissioned to spread the revolution to Tiagan because he had some brothers living there. He asked for Santiago Abaya to accompany him. Santiago was the son of the Justice of the Peace who had tried to send him through the insurgent lines to report the uprising to Vigan, but failed. Now the two of them headed for Antonio Mati's house in the Tiagan barrio of Paltoc, and as soon as they got there, they went straight to the fort in Tiagan and handed over their commissions to Commandant Fanén. Mati then listed all the appointments he could remember from the establishment of the revolutionary government in the Candon convento on the 25th, and the next day executed the following sworn statement:

The uprising had been set for the next week but was precipitated by receiving word that the Guardia Civil was going to conduct a search for arms. Of these they had two revolvers, six rifles from the Candon Civil Gards who had made common cause with them, and the rest armed with bolos, spears, batons, headaxes, and sharpened bamboo. He also heard that the first Friday in April had been set for an uprising

in Manila. The insurgents organized three columns—one for Narvacan, another for Bangar, and the third for Tiagan. In addition to Candon, Santa Maria, Santa Cruz, Santa Lucia and Bangar (Ilocos Sur), San Fernando in La Union, and Cervantes (Lepanto) were involved in the rebellion. In Candon, they made prisoners of the officers of the Civil Guard, the Friar and two others who were visiting and the Spanish residents.¹⁸

* * *

Far away in the capital of Manila, Spanish authority was also being challenged. At 8:00 on the morning of March 25—at the very moment an independent government was being inaugurated in Ilocos Sur—a patrol of Volunteers broke into a house on Camba Street and shot up or arrested almost a hundred Visayan sailors and dock-workers for plotting rebellion. And while the three divisions of that independent government's armed forces were fanning out across the southern Ilocos province, the entire 74th Filipino Regiment in Cavite was marching out of their barracks, deserting with all their arms and equipment. What was frightening about all this reinsurgency at that particular time was the possibility of support from abroad. During the Zambales uprising just three weeks before, Feliciano Jhocson had circulated letters purporting to be from Aguinaldo announcing his return, and in Hongkong Admiral Dewey was openly preparing the U.S. Asiatic Squadron for war. And the Ilocos coast is closer to Hongkong than to Cebu. When word of the Candon uprising was received, therefore, the Government took urgent action, rushed shock troops north by sea, and called a meeting of religious superiors to form patrols in coastal parishes to prevent the landing of Yankee arms.

The steamer with the *cazadores* aboard under Commander José García Herreros appeared off Candon Anchorage at 11:00 on the morning of the 28th, and then proceeded down the coast toward Santa Lucia, whether to attract defending forces away from the town or simply because of adverse landing conditions. They finally landed at the barrio of Pating late in the afternoon, and marched in to Candon unopposed, 150 strong and in full battle gear. They quickly released all prisoners, and arrested Pio Madarang, Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, and Father Rubio. Then they sent a patrol out to rescue Father Fernández in Sal-

¹⁸ Comandancia Politico-Militar de Tiagan, Mar. 28, 1898, National Archives, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, NA-19 Book I (1874-1898).

cedo, but could find no trace of Father Redondo or his two companions. The convento was deserted. It had been abandoned so precipitously that incriminating documents like commissions, military orders, and the constitution were left lying around on desks—and red flag flying. The Governor's report written three weeks later is revealing enough to be quoted at some length:

The unfortunate events in the town of Candon are due completely to the separatist cause and not, as was mistakenly thought in the beginning, to acts of personal vengeance against the more or less inflexible personality of the unfortunate parish priest of that town. This may have been a minor contributory cause made use of by the separatist elements, but the following details, your Excellency, are proven facts:

1. For a long time, frequent preparatory meetings were held in the town of Cervantes in the house of Isidoro Aguilar, between agents direct from Manila and the principal headmen of Candon, the Guirnaldas and Abayas by name.

2. These leaders met in the small hours of the night in remote places to hold secret conferences with the traitorous Civil Guards of the Candon post.

3. They made hundreds of bolos, most of them pointed, employing new and used iron from all the shops and stores.

4. Once the insurrection had broken out, supported by the Civil Guard post, and the Lieutenant of the same been gravely wounded, they apprehended the parish priest, Fray Rafael Redondo, and the missionary fathers Fray Ricardo Montes and Fray Santiago García, who operate their missions elsewhere but had the misfortune of sleeping in the convento that night.

5. Once they had taken possession, the rebels appointed a council with a President of a separatist Republic. They published *their program Law of the Separatist Revolution* printed in Ilocano and Spanish, organized their forces in brigades, distributed printed appointments to chiefs and officials, of provisional nature and in accordance with Article 6 of the aforesaid program Law of the Separatist Revolution.¹⁹

¹⁹ If this Article 6 happened to be the same as the sixth article of the Makabulos "Constitution of the General Executive Committee for Central Luzon" signed on April 17, 1898, the Governor's concern would have been quite understandable: "Article 6. *When it is necessary to appoint a Secretary of Foreign Affairs* [emphasis added], he will have in his charge all correspondence with foreign nations, treaties of all kinds, appointment of representatives to foreign nations . . . etc."—John M. Taylor, *The Philippine insurrection against the United States*, Vol. 1 (Pasay City 1971), p. 469.

6. They arranged their forces in tactical disposition with regular bugle calls.

7. All these documents display a seal which says "Philippine Republic" around the circumference, plus two stars with five points, with a sun in the middle, a mountain, and the sea.

8. At the entrance to the living quarters of the convento, signs read, "Presidencia," "Secretary of the Interior"—and of Foreign Affairs [*i.e.*, Exterior]—and "Entrance prohibited."

9. They made appointments for their civil organization.

10. They occupied the convento property, making it into a building of the Republic with a flagstaff with a red flag which displayed a white sun in the center with the legend, "*República Filipina Katipunán*."

11. They sent three columns to incite the towns of Tagudin, Santa Cruz and Santa Lucia to the south, Santiago and San Esteban to the north, and Coveta and Salcedo to the east.

It is these circumstances which truly appear to confront the whole province of Ilocos Sur with a grave danger.²⁰

The three friars had been moved to San Esteban the morning on March 28. But the provincial commander had sent Captain Antonio Almaraz south that same morning with all the Civil Guards at his command, and the rebel forces abandoned San Esteban on their approach, taking the friars with them in a cart. In Santiago, their pursuers overtook them and killed 34 in the fighting which ensued. Isabelo himself put up a desperate fight with four Civil Guards in which he killed one, wounded another, and drove the other two off still in possession of their rifles. He then fell back to the trenches below Salaw Bridge with his depleted forces, and there, near barrio Bucong, Fray Rafael Redondo finally met his fit end. In the words of Isabelo Abaya's service record under the Malolos Republic:

Before the company of *Cazadores* reached the town, he ordered this friar and two others who were with him taken to the forest where, making him understand his iniquity and the frightful deeds which had caused the death of good and learned

²⁰ "Estado de las Provincias de ambos Ilocos en Abril de 1898," National Archives, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, NA-19 Book I (1874-1898).

Filipinos and so many innocent, he ordered them beheaded on the afternoon of March 28, to give an account of their misdeeds to their Creator.²¹

On the 29th, provincial forces broke through the line of trenches, and Isabelo took to the hills. The Civil Guards, accompanied by the Santiago leaders whose property had been put to the torch on the 26th, burned their way from the Candon boundary into the town itself. Commander Herreros then sent the Manila forces out to put a stop to their revenge, and declared a general amnesty for all who would surrender their arms, and in this way recovered all the missing rifles. In the hills, the Guirnalda brothers agreed that Fernando should take his family and flee, and that Francisco should surrender with the story that none of the other Guirnaldas had been involved in the uprising. But Herreros gave him three days to bring in both his brother and Isabelo under promise of full pardon. So Francisco sadly bade farewell to his own family and went back to his brother in the hills. The two of them went south to Tagudin with Fernando's wife and children, but on April 10 both of them were captured in La Union and jailed in Tubao. There, however, they managed to escape—and Mayor Miguel Alalog and his police chief were jailed in their stead. Francisco was last seen jumping out the jailhouse window, but Fernando survived to write an account in 1912 of "The Republic of Candon" with the unimpeachable credential, "All but one of these heroes of the past are gone: the author of this history alone lives to the present day."²²

On April 10, too, a new Governor General arrived in the Philippines—Basilio Augustín—and his most urgent business was to pacify revolt and win Filipino loyalty before an American declaration of war. (In Washington, the Spanish Embassy had cracked the U.S. Naval code and read Theodore Roosevelt's famous orders to Dewey, and in Madrid "loyal" Filipinos like Isabelo de los Reyes were offering to return to the Philippines and organize resistance against Yankee invasion.) The man assigned to accomplish this rather ambitious task in Ilocos was Enrique Polo de Lara, an officer with a reputation for sympathy for Filipinos. He was given charge of both provinces, and arrived in Candon in the middle of the month.

²¹ "*Hechos biográficos*," Kandon, Jan. 23, 1899, Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 682.

Mena Crisologo used the same expression in filing a case with the Malolos Government in November 1898 against the perpetrators of the La Union and Ilocos "conspiracies"; he named both Fathers Redondo and García, "who, fortunately for mankind, have already gone to give God an account of their misdeeds" (Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 794.3)

²² Guirnalda, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

After a quick personal investigation, he left Commander Felipe Mediavilla there with 40 men, and proceeded to Vigan, taking Commander Herreros with him. There on April 19 he wrote up the report already cited, stationed a detachment of 40 men, and headed north. He left 20 troops in Lapog, 30 in Batac, and another 20 in Badoc. Lapog and Cabugao, he noted meaningfully, "have magnificent bays for any sort of landing." Batac was the home town of Artemio Ricarte, who was still sending revolutionary propaganda from Laguna to his fellow schoolteachers, and Badoc was the seat of Father Rubio's prominent and suspect family. Then he picked up Dingras Mayor Gregorio Puruganan, close associate of the Lapog Centenos and dissident leaders in Bacarra, and shrewdly included him in his personal entourage on his trip through the rest of the province.

Eleven Ilocanos were executed for their connection with the Candon uprising. Chief among them were the original Katipuneros like Roberto and Placido Guirnalda, Manuel and Toribio Abaya, and Pio Madarang, and Father Rubio, who had been under suspicion even before the uprising.²³ Manuel Abaya, Jr., co-commander of the Third Division, was pardoned, but his 15-year-old brother Leon was shot in Salcedo, probably without court proceedings. The role of four others is unknown—Desiderio Agbulus, Victorino Gadut, Urbano Galac and Severo Paredes. Fernando Guirnalda claimed that some innocent townsmen were victimized by vengeful Spanish residents giving false testimonies: perhaps these four were among their debtors or creditors. Or perhaps Guirnalda's own story is to be connected with another Candon legend which says that a number of local businessmen were rounded up, marched out to the northern suburbs where the friars had been killed, and massacred under that bridge which had formed part of the insurgent defense lines. It must be admitted that the discovery of the mutilated, decomposing bodies of the three Spanish priests on April 5 would certainly have put their compatriots in the mood for massacre. The reaction of their official biographer three years later was probably representative

²³ Fathers Jose M. Chanco and Mariano Sevilla in a letter to the Papal Delegate on Jan. 29, 1900, published in Achútegui and Bernad, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines*, Vol. 4 (Manila 1972), p. 44, say that Father Rubio was shot in Aparri. This is probably an error. Francisco Gray, writing in 1911 ("*Pacakitaan cadagiti Sres. a nagcapcapitan ditoy ili a Candon nanipud idi 1780*," Ayer MS 1713b, Newberry Library), says he was captured by Herreros; Governor Polo refers to his guilt but not to any escape though he does report the Guirnaldas' escape; and an unpublished autobiography of Tagudin schoolteacher Sabas Gaerlan in the possession of the Rev. John Flameygh, CICM, says of the uprising, "Those of Candon paid dearly for it; the lives of several people were taken in exchange, and also of one Filipino priest who was not from Candon but was a coadjutor there."

and predictable:

There are no words strong enough to anathematize so horrendous a crime, perpetrated—as always in the Philippines—by base outlaws who, to satiate their shameless and savage instincts, will stop at nothing to attain their bastardly goals. Thus, off in that hidden thicket a pathetic and harrowing tragedy was presented on that fateful day: its actors were three humble priests and their hangmen (their number does not matter) who, dagger in hand, attacked, wounded, and killed their defenseless victims while they were begging for mercy and compassion. What a brilliant history, that of the Philippine Revolution! Its deeds, its vandal excesses, and its pretended liberties serve today to bring into sharper relief the details of the horrible picture traced by the black hand of the nefarious Katipunan.²⁴

Of the six condemned leaders, at least the Guirnaldas and Manuel Abaya were executed on April 19, and probably the others also. This was the day after Governor Polo left for Vigan, and he included in his report a succinct explanation of the technique by which their guilt was established: "By showing practical leniency for the lesser leaders, I made use of them to denounce the more important ones."²⁵ Whatever his methods, from the Spanish standpoint, Enrique Polo de Lara turned in a commendable performance. When Aguinaldo's forces entered Ilocos four months later, they found no underground governors in command like Makabulos in Tarlac or Prado in Pangasinan. Quite the opposite, when Commander Herreros surrendered his forces in San Fernando at the end of July, Spanish friars were still at their altars and Spanish officers at their desks from Bangar to Bangui.

* * *

The ease with which the revolution was put down is not surprising. The military imbalance once the *cazadores* had landed is obvious. Yet Ilocanos fought against much greater odds for more than two years during the American invasion. A more significant cause may therefore be found in the divided leadership—even treachery—which the Candon forces suffered. No Filipino holding office in the colonial government took part in

²⁴ Elviro Jorde Pérez, *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los Religiosos agustinianos* (Manila 1901), p. 525.

²⁵ "Estado de las Provincias de ambos Ilocos..."

the uprising, and many actively aided their Spanish superiors. Telegrapher Elias Abaya did not warn the plotters that he had sent a message about the discovery of their plot, and Justice of the Peace Candido Abaya tried to get word through to Vigan after the Republic had taken possession of the telegraph office. The mayor and petty officers of Santiago prevented the First Division from marching north, exposed it to two days of enemy fire, and gave Vigan forces time to form an expedition. And those of Tagudin actually led their Ilocano brothers into ambush by government forces.

Men like the Guirnaldas, on the other hand, were out-of-office members of the *principalía* with personal grudges against the regime. Yet the same arrest, torture and imprisonment which had persuaded them to act, cowed others into inaction. Three of the primary victims of the "conspiracy" of 1896 withdrew from the Tondo meeting of March 16 with the frank explanation that they were now in the government's good graces—"muy bien miradas en su provincia por los autoridades españoles."²⁶ Few men so cautious and conscious of the risks would throw themselves into battle armed only with kitchen bolos and sharpened sticks. Indeed, Fernando Guirnalda's "The Republic of Candon" is a minor classic of compradore-class ambivalence: full of noble little speeches to surrendering Spaniards like, "Don't be afraid, for the animal that is taught by the lion is not as cruel as his master,"²⁷ it refers to Filipino fighters as "poor ignorant people [who] did not know what revolution meant... and were ignorant of the bitterness of the consequences if it failed."²⁸

Isabelo Abaya was a man cut from different cloth. Whether deserted by his men as Guirnalda claimed, or by Guirnalda as seems more likely, he never surrendered. Instead, he put on a G-string like his ancestors and disappeared into the anonymity of the Igorot mountains. Perhaps he returned to his old recruits in Sagada, for the last Spanish commander of Bontoc raided that town on July 11 as a punishment for Katipunan sympathies. But when Colonel Manuel Tinio arrived in Candon at the head of Republican troops in August, Isabelo reported for duty and was sent to serve as Lieutenant Colonel Joaquin Alejandrino's guide for the capture of Bontoc. After the Treaty of Paris made America's aggressive intentions clear in December, he was ordered to recruit Igorots in Bontoc, and he led 225 of them to Malolos in time for the opening engagement of the Philippine-American War

²⁶ Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 157.

²⁷ Guirnalda, op. cit., p. 42.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

on February 5, 1899. After the Battle of Caloocan, he joined Antonio Luna's forces until that general was murdered in June, when he returned to Ilocos. (Two of his Abaya clansmen, however, crossed the mountains to join General Malvar and found Tagalog-speaking branches of the family in Laguna and Batangas.) Finally, when President Aguinaldo disbanded the Philippine Army and declared guerrilla warfare, Isabelo was commissioned by Colonel Juan Villamor of the Tinio Brigade to organize and command the Southern Zone of Ilocos. It was while discharging this duty that he was killed in action on May 3, 1900.

The present generation of Filipino students and teachers has spilled much ink—and no less adrenalin—in the search for genuine Filipino heroes. Isabelo Abaya should rank high on any list of candidates. Here was a Filipino who fought for national independence against two imperialist aggressors, and never gave up the struggle even in the face of betrayal by countrymen or blandishments by the enemy, but died fighting for the ideals for which he lived. Isabelo Abaya was a comfortable businessman when he left his home to become a soldier on the battlefield and a guerrilla in the hills. He fought in the Revolutionary Army during the insurrection of 1896-1897 and in the Republican Army during the war of national defense in 1899-1901. He was present at the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato and the Battle of Caloocan, and he organized his own underground unit in a national liberation movement. He was a bourgeoisie *ilustrado* willing to wear a G-string and eat camotes to live like an Igorot in the mountains. And he died in action defending the Philippine state against foreign invasion. If nothing else, a man must be held in some awe and respect who could take to the hills and live off the land, attract lowland peasants and highland tribesmen, and still write such soaring prose as the following appeal to his countrymen:

Ilocanos:

Having been undeservedly invested by our august Government with full authority to organize troops and direct the war against the Americans in this Southern Zone of Ilocos, I wish to address these humble words to you, not to excite your patriotism, which you have always held high in times of trial, but to determine the kind of warfare we should adopt so as to produce the desired results which our Government proposes to achieve.

For you, the fight commences today, the true fight for which Providence has favored us with the shield of our be-

loved mountains which, filled as they are with herbage and luxuriant with edible fruits and roots, appear to be made just for the purpose of mountain warfare; we undertake it today with the certainty that we shall always defeat the enemy there by wearing him out and exterminating him through fatigue and hunger. The War of the Vendée which pitted 5,000 Vendéens against 80,000 Frenchmen, the War of Spanish Independence with raw troops and amateur generals against the brilliant and ever-victorious army of Napoleon, and our own triumphant revolution against the theocratic power of Spain in these islands—these present vivid pictures to my mind which, given the justice of our radiant and resplendent cause, inspire my due confidence in that certainty.

Let us fight, then, from those mountains, with neither hesitation nor rashness, and without predicting the outcome by considering the imbalance of resources but rather the beauty and sacredness of the ideal which we are pursuing against the oppressive imperialist designs of North America, who, concerned only with her wicked desire to dominate and degrade us unjustly—we with whom she once joined hands to defeat the Spanish army in these islands—would now impose her sovereignty on us by the brute force of her cannons, a sovereignty as evil as it is ridiculous.

Enemy of those liberties won for you at the cost of a thousand lives and anxieties and of streams of your own blood, the invading American army daily insults you by despising your most venerated instincts and dearest convictions.

For it is an insult to you, and a great one, to call the Filipino Army insurgent, that is to say, something despicable, and without honor to your sons, spouses, and parents who, obedient to the rallying cry of that Government which you recognized, revered, and extolled with song and acclamation, they who, submissive to your will and counsels, took to the field of battle to seal with their blood and their lives the affectionate love they professed for you, as well as the inalienable right which is yours to be free and independent.

It is also a deliberate slap that brings the blood rushing to the face not to recognize that Government which the Philippines' most illustrious sons formed in the enemy's full view and with their aid in the beginning, and to deny with

utter lack of shame the validity and efficacy of the Constitution and decrees which that Government promulgated with your applause for consolidating your present well-being, as well as for initiating the future greatness and prosperity of our beloved country.

And finally, it is an offense to you in your Catholic sentiments not to respect those objects your fathers taught you to hold sacred, to profane your temples, and to mutilate and rob your venerated images. Eloquent witness and examples of such profanations and usurpations are the churches of Pangasinan, La Union, Ilocos and Abra.

Now, having called on you to consider these injuries, as well as the future vexations and unforeseen degradations which pertain to total lack of sovereignty and dominion, I invite the good Ilocanos, the honorable Ilocanos, but not despicable perjurers, to the war which I am undertaking in the mountains today with my faithful comrades, calling on the youth especially to swell their ranks, and authorizing everybody to cause the enemy all possible damage permitted by the rules of war.

The Commander-in-Chief of the
Southern Zone of Ilocos

YSABELO ABAYA²⁹

²⁹ Philippine Insurgent Records, Selected Documents 521.

Amor Patrio in the Philippine Insurgent Records*

When the armed forces of the United States of America invaded this archipelago and destroyed the first Philippine Republic, they seized one of the most unusual prizes in military history—almost three tons of documents taken from surrendering forces, looted from public buildings, or removed from the bodies of dead Filipinos. This priceless hoard was shipped to Washington, D.C., where it was labeled “Philippine Insurrection Records” to disinfect any telltale odor of imperialism clinging to it. A half century later, when the goals of imperialism had long since been attained and the national conscience assuaged, they were returned to their rightful owners and placed in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the National Library in 1958. Since their restoration, careful scholars have referred to them as the “Philippine Revolutionary Records”—or PRR—though in actual fact, the bulk of them pertain neither to revolution nor insurrection, but to a war of self defense against foreign aggression. In any case, the staff and catalogue of the National Library still refer to them as the Philippine Insurgent Records—PIR. But under either name, they constitute one of the most concentrated displays of *amor patrio*—love of country—in the world today.

Back at the turn of the century, the American Army assigned an intelligence officer by the name of John R. M. Taylor to survey and analyze these records, and translate such of them as he considered conducive to an understanding—or justification—of the American presence in the Philippines. Working with a small staff, he completed the manuscript of a five-volume book by 1906, which he called *The Philippine insurrection against the United States of America*. One and a half volumes were Taylor's own history of the conflict, and the other three and a half, translations of almost 1500 documents—about one eighth of the total—to illustrate his conclusions. American President William Howard Taft, however, disapproved the publication of the book for rea-

*Paper read at the Third National Conference on Local History, Bacolod City, 3-5 November 1980.

sons of political expediency, so it remained in galley proofs for 65 years. Then in 1971, the Eugenio Lopez Foundation magnanimously published it as a public service with an introduction and editing by Renato Constantino.

Although a few scholars, both Filipino and foreign, had managed to make use of both the book and the collection in microscopy in the U.S. National Archives, the publication of the whole five volumes was hailed by historians as a major event in Philippine historiography. Here at last was the "true" story of the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902—"true" because of the unimpeachable authority of the source materials, all being written, as they are, in the hand of the protagonists themselves. What do these documents sound like which Taylor calls "exhibits"? What story do these 1,430 witnesses tell?

To answer this question in preparing this paper, I held Volume I on edge by the spine and let the pages fall open at random. They opened to pages 322-323, which translate the May 4, 1897, testimony of one Gregorio de Jesus against Andres Bonifacio, which reads in part, "Question: Did you know that there were five men imprisoned, and that their hair, eyebrows and eyelashes were ordered to be shaved?" Vol. III, subjected to the same treatment, fell open to pages 402-403, a letter from Wenceslao Viniegra from Iba (Zambales), dated November 13, 1898, to President Aguinaldo, complaining about military abuses in terms such as the following:

Various wealthy and educated persons of Botolan are the object of their persecutions for the purpose, no doubt, of forcing them to leave the town, their object being to secure their real property and distribute it among their followers.

Vol. IV exposed—on pages 446-447—a March 15, 1899, order to operate friar estates for the benefit of the government—"As the new law on revenues for the present year is soon to go into effect, and as among the revenues of the state appear the income which may be derived from the property of the religious communities transferred to the State by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution...etc." And Volume V revealed a November 16, 1900, order about unruly soldiers beginning, "Advise all officers of this brigade that he who allows his soldiers to load their rifles without being before the enemy shall be liable to capital punishment" (pp. 270-271).

These examples are all trivial in comparison to many important military commands and state documents appearing in the same volumes. Yet their manner of selection testifies to their being

typical of the overall content. And they do not make for very pleasant reading—nor does the entire collection. It smacks too often of drumhead justice and treacherous jealousies, of exploitation and abuse. Indeed, it might even cast doubt on the original correspondents' competence to operate a civilized modern government. And that, in fact, was pretty much what it was Captain Taylor's job to do. As he himself puts it, "I was ordered to report to the Adjutant General to act really as a channel of communications between the War Department and certain Senators who were defending on the floor of the Senate, the conduct of the administration with respect to the Philippines." That is to say, he was to provide an excuse for American aggression by demonstrating that the Filipino people were incompetent to govern themselves.

There is little doubt that this was Taylor's own view of the Filipino people. His assessment of the President of the Republic is candid, unambiguous, and sanguine:

It is known that the family from which Aguinaldo came had for many years dominated the town of Cavite Viejo...dominated it, perhaps, according to some immemorial tradition reaching back to a day when one of the "Orang Laut," the sea robbers of the south, drove his war canoe home on the beach and seized the land by the right of his sword and spear. It is known that later there came an infusion of Chinese blood, which gave to Aguinaldo the subtlety and perseverance of that race. Such was probably the stock from which sprang this Malay chieftain, who, of little education but a natural ruler of men, imposed his will upon his people and dreamed of founding, under the name of republic...a government of the sword.

And Captain Taylor is just as candid about his exhibits: "It seems to me that the measure of his fitness to establish a republic is given by these papers..."

Yet, on even a casual reading of the five volumes, Taylor's argument seems to break down under its own weight: the sheer bulk of the documentation speaks of competence, not incompetence. These documents were produced under wartime conditions, most of them by a government hounded from one capital to another, many of them only hours before they fell into enemy hands. Under the circumstances, they reveal a dedication to duty and legality which is nothing less than poignant. Their content testifies to an ability to conceive and construct a constitutional republic, and their mere existence to a willingness to wage a war—and die—to defend it. And they are only a fraction of the quarter million

documents which must themselves be only a fraction in comparison to those that were written and lost. Among their hundreds of appointments and commissions, their thousands of implementing orders and instructions, their tens of thousands of pages of payrolls, budgets, and enlistment and census figures, there are those which might be selected to give a fuller and fairer picture of the total scene. One might exhibit, for example, some of those pertaining to church property.

The Church in the Philippines was one of the wealthiest proprietors in the archipelago, and it would be naive—perhaps even unpatriotic—to suggest that the State would ignore its resources in the struggle for national survival. Unlike European revolutionary governments in the 19th century, however, the Philippine government did not confiscate church property outright. But it did attach friars' personal property, to which it referred with nice irony as "abandoned." To illustrate the Philippine methodology, one exhibit will be presented which somehow escaped seizure by the invader and so survived in a thin folder of "insurgent" records in the National Archives.

On May 1, 1899, the household furnishings of the parish priest of Candon (Ilocos Sur), Fray Rafael Redondo, were sold at public auction in accordance with Order No. 1420 of April 27 from the Provincial President, for a total of ₱237.90. The sale was conducted in the presence of Local Presidente Pedro Legazpi Gonzales and Commissioner Ildefonso Laurel of the Republic, and the latter took receipt of the cash proceeds in an official document countersigned by six local officials and bearing an official seal which says, "*Ylocos Sur Presidencia Local de Kandon.*" Attached documents, signed and sealed in the same manner, list the items of furniture sold, the price of each, and the names of the purchasers, together with the original room-by-room inventory made on the preceding August 21st. Similarly, the personal possessions of Fray Jose Vázquez of Magsingal were auctioned off on August 15, 1899, for ₱50.00, having consisted mainly of books, perhaps because of the presence of Filipino Coadjutor Father Lucas Albano. Fray Angel Corugedo's furnishings in Narvacan could not all be disposed of during an April 28th auction, and so netted only ₱51.75. And the documents from the May 16th auction in Kabugao include a note which indicates that even the most highly placed were not exempt from the fiscalizing scrutiny of subordinate compatriots. It reads: "The three first-class narra beds included in the inventory were sent to Vigan on order of the Señor Provincial Presidente."

It is also worthy of note that these records, from inventory to sale, cover a time span during which the capital of the Republic

transferred from Malolos to San Isidro to Cabanatuan to Tarlac. As a matter of fact, the Magsingal auction took place two days after enemy naval units had bombarded the provincial capital of Vigan only 15 kilometers away.

To the local historian, these dry documents are enlivened with the names of men who made Candon history. Fray Rafael Redondo himself, an absolute caricature of the ruthless, oppressive friar, "abandoned" his convento under rather different circumstances from his brothers of the cloth: he was executed during the uprising of March 25-28, 1898. Among those who successfully bid for his furniture was one of his first victims, Don Lino Abaya who survived torture and deportation to be commissioned by President Aguinaldo and rearrested by U.S. military forces for the possession of anti-American literature. And former Justice of the Peace Nazario Gray, who had been tortured into revealing the names of some of his Katipunan comrades, was able to get a bejuco bookcase for 25 centavos and a marble washstand for P7.00. But even more important for Candon historiography is a document Taylor separated as "Selected Documents Folder No. 682" which is so illustrative of Filipino patriotism that it is worth presenting here in full:

In the Town of Kandon of the Province
of Ilokos Sur on the twenty-third day
of January of the year one thousand
eight hundred and ninety-nine.

WHEREAS, the townsman Señor Isabelo Abaya has arrived from the mountains of Bontok with 225 Igorots of those heights recruited by him on orders of General Manuel Tinio, for delivery as soldiers to the immediate orders of the Honorable President of our Philippines, we, the Citizen Pedro Legazpi y Gonzales, local Presidente, the Vice Presidente, the Representatives of the Police, Justice, and Revenue, together with all the Headmen and members of the Peoples Committee attending, and other distinguished persons of this locality, having seen and observed the submission of the said Igorots, who were called fugitives in the days of the late Spanish government, as well as their manifest adhesion to our Revolutionary Government, they bursting out into thunderous *Vivas* for the Philippines and the most excellent Head of State;

THEREFORE, of our own spontaneous, unanimous, and free will, do declare by means of the present certification, which we desire to be presented to the Captain General in

Chief and Honorable President of the Philippines, the following

BIOGRAPHICAL FACTS

The citizen Isabelo Abaya y Abaya, native of this town of Kandon of the Province of Ilokos Sur, bachelor of 35 years of age, upon seeing that the attitude of the friars and Spaniards after the signing of the Peace at Biak-na-Bato was more deprecatory of the Filipinos than ever, and that, by means of the authorities and Civil Guards, they were trying to see that they should not have a moment's peace, worked silently but effectively to have the residents armed with bolos and swords. Given the peaceful nature of the majority of the Ilocanos of those times, who always took the Spanish side both for the sake of convenience and to avoid molestation, it is noteworthy that nobody ventured to denounce Isabelo Abaya's preparations.

Within only a few hours on the night of March 24 last year in 1898, he gathered the few members of the barrios he had spoken with about throwing off the yoke of the tyrannous Spaniards and assembled them in the town plaza, had himself recognized as their sole commander, and attacked the quarters of the Civil Guards to seize its commanding officer, who, resisting, suffered many serious wounds and was taken to the Town Hall. He ordered the Spaniards bound, and the others who were frightened indicated their willingness to support his claims; begging for their lives tearfully and handing over their arms, they were left in detention in their own houses. He apprehended Fray Rafael Redondo, parish priest (he was the parish priest of San Fernando, La Union, who had invented the imaginary rebellion of that province and Ilokos for which the priests and prominent persons were imprisoned and tortured), and before the company of Rangers [*Cazadores*] reached the town, ordered this friar and two others who were with him taken to the forest where, making him understand his iniquity and frightful deeds which had caused the death of good and learned Filipinos and so many innocent, he ordered them beheaded on the afternoon of March 28 to give an account of their misdeeds to their Creator, after having had an encounter with four members of the Civil Guards in the neighboring town of Santiago in which he killed one, wounded another, and made the other two run off still in possession of their rifles, without any other arms himself than his sword.

After the Spanish military took possession of the town, not being able to confront them alone since those who were with him were beginning to retire and hide their arms so the residents would not become objects of abuses and murders, the said Isabelo took refuge in the mountains, living off camotes with the Igorots for more than five months, dressed only in a *bahaque* or G-string to avoid being recognized, until Señor Manuel Tinio, then Colonel, arrived in Kandon on August 15, when he presented himself and offered to place himself under his command as a soldier of the Fatherland.

He took part in the Bontok and Lepanto operations as a guide, and when his good performance became known through reports, he was appointed an officer of the Philippine Army by Señor Joaquin Alejandrino, Chief of the Column which fought in those mountains so they would never again come under Spanish dominion.

No other motive induces the informants to execute this declaration than their desire to make the loyalty and patriotism of the good Filipino citizen Isabelo Abaya known to the Supreme Command, and all those here assembled do sign it in honor of the truth after having read and understood its contents.

(61 signatures follow)

These references to Igorot-Katipunan contact and military action in Bontoc and Lepanto raise the important question of whether or not the Malolos government really reached the impregnable heights of the Gran Cordillera Central. Whatever influence the first Republic may have had in the mountains of northern Luzon is almost unknown outside the Philippine Insurgent Records. From Spanish sources we know that Colonel Alejandrino captured Bontoc from its last Spanish commander on September 3, 1898, and saved him and his family from Igorot vengeance; and a diary of Aguinaldo's five-month odyssey across the mountains during his flight to Palanan has been published more than once. Oral tradition indicates that Isabelo Abaya recruited Igorot forces not only in 1898 but also in 1897, and that the last Spanish commandant made a raid on Sagada (Mountain Province) because of reported Katipunan activities there. One Spanish account alludes to Igorot enmity with the "insurgents," and it is probably true that Igorots welcomed a Filipino military presence no more warmly than they had welcomed any other. At least, Ifugaos speared Spanish, Filipino and American

soldiers with fine impartiality when they had the chance.

After this rather negative glimpse of insurrectionary tactics and fullscale retreat, the quantity of official correspondence still surviving from the Republic's politico-military districts of Benguet and Bontoc comes almost as a shock. For here are literal reams of letters, receipts, budgets, inventories, census reports—even judiciary proceedings complete with exhibits presented in court. Since these records were compiled on the most remote frontier of the country, where morale might have been low and temptation to sloth or disobedience high, they bear particularly eloquent witness to the vitality of the Philippine government, and give the lie to any thesis that that government's performance was a mere charade play-acted to impress foreign observers. The ability and will to keep clerical machinery functioning under such conditions must rank as one of history's bravest examples of dogged devotion to duty. Such records are worth looking into.

One of them is a general inventory from the military command of Bontoc. On August 20, 1899, First Lieutenant Alberto de Jesus, interim chief of the Province of Bontoc, turned over his command to his successor, Second Lieutenant Crispin Atienza, together with this seven-part inventory of the matériel in his charge. The office records include such items as one book of copies of correspondence addressed to the Honorable Señor President of the Nation, another to various authorities in adjoining commands, and a third to addressees within the District. Another book is a register of passports issued. Four letter files contain actual correspondence received—from the President and his Secretaries, for example. The complete list of buildings and furnishings naturally occupies the main part of the inventory—or, rather, six parts.

The tribunal occupies a wooden building in very bad condition, 9.5 x 7.12 meters, with a 37 x 31 meter coffee plantation, and contains two bugles and one drum. The convento is a wooden building in very good condition 9 x 14 meters, with a porch, entrance hall and three rooms, containing 13 European chairs, some aparadors, one table, one desk, two beds, one clock, six pictures of saints and 25 different books, while the church is a 10 x 30 wooden building in good condition containing two bells, two chalices, one silver crucifix, two images with clothes, two banners, eight vestments, two copes, three altars with images, one confessional, one baptismal font, three kneelers, one censer, six candlesticks, two missals, etc. Outpost garrisons run to such things as the Sagada detachment's wooden building in fairly good condition, with one bedroom for soldiers, two rooms for officers and commander, eleven windows without panes, four double doors, three

beds, three chairs, and two tables with drawers. The Bontoc medical dispensary shows little furniture and no equipment other than balances and a mortar, but does list several pages of pharmaceuticals measured out in grams, while the schoolhouse—in bad condition—contains nothing more than a blackboard, four pupils desks, another with drawer for the teacher, and no teaching materials. Attached to the completed inventory is an additional receipt signed by one Fruto Galpo for three wooden chairs with cane bottoms, one round table, and four benches from the Sagada convento.

From Igorotland, too, comes an impressive sample of the Revolutionary Army's ability to maintain judiciary continuity in even forlorn boondocks. It is Case No. 4, a libel suit by Commandant Vicente Quesada of the Military District of P. Burgos (i.e., Benguet) against a certain Calixto Soriano for "grave calumny against authority," filed on October 4, 1898, and still *sub judice* when the President of the Republic disbanded the Army 13 months later and took to the hills.

On September 30, 1898, Calixto Soriano wrote a letter in Ilocano from San Fernando (La Union) to Benguet revenue collector Juan Cariño—"Igorot, new Christian, native and resident of the town of Lamora, married, of adult age, farmer and proprietor by profession." The letter was forwarded through Naguilian revenue collector Cenon Soriano, and delivered to Cariño in Trinidad on December 3. It accused Commandant Quesada of extorting gold, livestock, coffee and market vegetables from Igorots, and recommended that local people stick together against lowland intrusion. The following day, Cariño turned over the letter to Quesada, who promptly filed suit by ordering Captain Carlos Maglaya to convene a court to try the case.

By the 18th, sworn statements in the Commandant's favor had been received from the presidentes of the recently renamed towns of Aguinaldo, Emilio, Lamora, Llanura, Rizal and Tirona, most of whom were illiterate Igorot chieftains who signed their testimonies with a mark. On the 21st, Calixto was found guilty and jailed, and the Presidente and local council of Naguilian were notified that his goods were to be confiscated. But on the 30th, word was received from Naguilian that those goods had already been confiscated in an earlier conviction for falsification of documents. Meanwhile, Calixto appealed.

Under appeal, he testified in a statement sworn on November 9 that he knew nothing about the letter and that the handwriting was not his. Subpoenas were accordingly sent to La Union for witnesses who could identify his penmanship. On the 16th, Martin Carreon of Aringay testified that Calixto's signed

statements and the penmanship of the letter were identical, and on the 17th, Benito Zambrano, sometime schoolmaster in Zamora (i.e., Tublay), identified the handwriting with the statement that he was very familiar with it, "because the said Soriano had been the local presidente of that capital while the witness was vice-presidente." On the 19th, Cenon Soriano testified that he had forwarded the letter in the first place and that the penmanship on the envelope was his own. The appeal therefore failed, and orders were issued on December 27 to transfer the prisoner to Malolos. There he was turned over to the Chief of the Section on Military Justice in the Secretariat of War of the Revolutionary Government of the Philippines on January 21, 1899. On the 27th, however, he was released with provisional liberty on condition that he not leave the jurisdiction of Naguilian without permission. Copies of the court proceedings were then forwarded to the office of the Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Republican Army of the Philippines, and investigation of the case ground inexorably on.

When Malolos fell to the enemy in March, all these copies accompanied the withdrawing capital to San Fernando (Pampanga) and then to San Isidro. On April 14, the Auditor General of the Department of War requested a report on the status of the prior case of falsification of documents, and on the 24th, the entire *expediente* from the Benguet court was forwarded to San Isidro, complete with the original letter and envelope, and such exquisite details as Cenon Soriano's November 19th receipt of his summons to appear in court. From San Isidro the file was carried in the Republic's baggage to Cabanatuan, and in June to Tarlac, where, for the next three months, it grew bulkier still as copies, extracts, endorsements, and referrals were added from one desk to another. Finally, on October 20, 1899, it was elevated to the President of the Permanent Commission on Justice—and fell into enemy hands three weeks later. As it survives today, it weighs slightly more than two kilograms.

These, then, are the exhibits for the defense. They are presented here as evidence of the Filipino people's competence to govern themselves in 1898. Bound with rotting red tape and crumbling to the touch, they appear to be the dry bones of a dead past. Yet they come alive in the hands of any scholar willing to enter into their world not with objectivity but with sympathy. To those of us who live in what Renato Constantino has so aptly called a society without purpose, it is a humbling experience to handle these intimate testimonies to *amor patrio*, covered as they are with the invisible fingerprints of men of a better breed. One foreign scholar who was privileged to have this experience has written

of the "grave formality" of the first election returns in the Republic of the Philippines in the following words:

Most of the Acts of Election have decoratively lettered titles, are written in impressive scripts, and are signed with flourishes by all the electors in at least two copies, Spanish and Tagalog. To skim even a few of the hundreds submitted for approval in 1898 is to hear the towns of Luzon singing in solemn chorus of the pleasure of taking over their local governments.*

It is a song no Filipino historian should fail to hear.

*Jane Slichter Ragsdale, "Coping with the Yankees: the Filipino elite, 1898-1903." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974, p. 54.

Isabelo de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore*

I

It was Pedro Paterno who first called Isabelo de los Reyes the "Father of Philippine Folklore" in 1886.¹ Isabelo was a 21-year-old graduate student in the University of Santo Tomas at the time, but already an experienced journalist, a correspondent of eminent scholars in Europe, and the battle-scarred veteran of a publicity campaign to create a *Folk-lore filipino*.²

*This article was originally given as a paper at the Fourth National Folklore Congress July 4-6, 1980, at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

¹ *Diario de Manila*, 24 October 1886.

² Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino was born in Vigan, Ilocos Sur, on July 6, 1864. He studied in the Vigan Seminary and graduated from the University of Santo Tomas with the Bachelor's Degree in 1883 and the Notarial in 1887. He started writing for the press at the age of 16, founded *El Ilocano* in 1889 and *El Municipio Filipino* in 1894, became editor of *La Lectura Popular* in 1890, and regularly wrote for many other papers. Some of his collected articles appeared in book form as *Ilocanadas*; *Articulos varios sobre Etnologia, Historia y Costumbres del Pags*; *Las Islas visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista*; *Historia de Filipinas*, Vol. I (*Prehistoria*); *Historia de Ilocos*; and *El Folk-lore Filipino*. He was also a businessman, commercial agent, exporter, publisher and printer, and owned property in Manila, Tarlac, and Pangasinan.

He was arrested on suspicion of subversion in December 1896, deported to Spain, and released in 1898. He was then employed by the Overseas Ministry in Madrid, continued his business endeavors, wrote for the Spanish press, translated the Gospels of Luke and John into Ilocano for the British Bible Society; and published *La sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina en 1896-1897*, *La Religión del "Katipunan"*, *Filipinas: Independencia y Revolución!* and the fortnightly *Filipinas ante Europa*.

He returned to the Philippines in October 1901, went back to journalism, and soon joined Pascual Poblete's *El Grito del Pueblo*. In 1902 he founded the *Unión Obrera Democrática*, co-founded the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, and was jailed for labor agitating. He published the fortnightlies, *La Iglesia Filipinas Independiente: Revista Católica* and *La Redención del Obrero* in 1903-1904, and was one of the founders of the Republican Party of the Philippines in 1905.

He went back to Spain in 1906, engaged in business and scholarly

Yet the title, "Father of Philippine Folklore," seems strangely inappropriate for a man who did not raise up a family of younger folklorists to follow in his footsteps. Of course, it is true that half a dozen other Filipinos were inspired enough by his enthusiasm to start collecting and publishing local legends, superstitions and customs themselves, and it is also true that the literary genius of a Jose Rizal turned momentarily to translating a few Filipino tales. But no other Filipino mastered the European literature on the subject or approached it in an orderly, analytic fashion. No other Filipino covered the full folkloric spectrum from field research among mountain tribes, through linguistic analysis of indigenous poetry, to the unearthing of unpublished documents from the Spanish Conquest. Nor did any other journalist pour out such a stream of essays and short stories sprinkled with native terms and customs that were the fruits of folkloristic research. Probably the title, "First Filipino Folklorist" would be more appropriate for the young Isabelo. And, as a matter of fact, the further point may be made that no "Second Filipino Folklorist" had appeared up to the time of his death in 1938.

But perhaps a still more appropriate title for Isabelo de los Reyes would be "First Filipinologist," for his interest and expertise in things Philippine were not limited to even the broad boundaries of folklore. From the living customs he recorded around him, he turned to Spanish accounts of the past to look for more: as he himself described the writing of his *Historia de Ilocos*, "I read more than a hundred historical and non-historical works just to cull two or three items from each of them for that *History*, and then oral traditions for more recent events."³ In this way he moved on to draw conclusions about Philippine palaeography, prehistory and anthropology which still stand today—that all indigenous alphabets have a common origin, for example, or that there is no evidence for real Chinese settlements prior to the Spanish advent, and that "Indonesian" is a synthetic term for a group of languages, not a race. He tracked down the history of a sword Legazpi had given Lakandula which remained in

research, and wrote the major liturgical, theological and constitutional works of the I.F.I.—its *Oficio Divino*, for example. He returned to the Philippines in 1909 and published *La Religión antigua de los Filipinos*. He served as Councilor in Manila from 1912 to 1919, was elected Senator from Ilocos in 1922, and retired from politics following a stroke in 1929. He died on Oct. 10, 1938, thrice widowed and the father of 27 legitimate children, one of whom, Isabelo, Jr., was Obispo Maximo of the I.F.I. for 25 years.

³ *La Ilustración Filipina*, 7 March 1892.

that family until the 1850's, and his opinion was sought in the popular press when a cache of little gold coins was unearthed in a Manila suburb. All this study and research was to produce an unstanchable flow of creative, scholarly works with such disparate titles as *Los Régulos de Manila*, *La Esclavitud ilocana*, *El Tinguian*, *Las Islas visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista*, *Origen de las Razas filipinas*, and *Mitología filipina*.

Indeed, when it came to Filipiniana, Isabelo was into everything. During the last decade before the Revolution, his name appears in print more frequently than that of any other Filipino. In 1885 the *Manila Alegre* published a poem twitting him as "professor of savages,"⁴ and in 1888 *El Comercio* translated an article from Germany which agreed with his analysis of those little gold coins.⁵ And when he suggested that the coins should be sent to the Philippine Exposition in Madrid, the *Manila Alegre* commented mischievously, "We agree—so long as the numismatist takes them there himself."⁶ In 1887 a new censorship decree was promulgated to prevent him from bypassing the Manila censor by publishing in the Iloilo *El Eco de Panay*. In 1890 he published two anti-friar articles in *La Solidaridad* based on knowledge gained as amanuensis to his Uncle Mena Crisologo, who had drawn up a watertight case of excommunication against two Augustinians. In 1891 *La Lectura Popular* announced his membership in a musical society called *La Euterpe*; and in 1892 he locked horns with Madrid Academician Vicente Barrantes over having made a hero out of that "arch-traitor," Diego Silang. In 1889 he became the only native Filipino ever licensed to publish a newspaper in the colony with his vernacular *El Ilocano*, a journal which showed such a profit he was able to buy his own press three years later. He became editor of a Tagalog bi-weekly called *La Lectura Popular* in 1890, and quickly surrounded himself with such a radical Filipino staff that the *Revista Católica* grumpily announced, "We have withdrawn exchanges with this periodical because for some time now it has appeared that it serves more to corrupt people's customs than to enlighten them."⁷ And one month after the law journal, *La Legislación*, appeared in 1894, he came out with *El Municipio Filipino*, which was little more than a do-it-yourself course in understanding a citizen's rights under the law.

The common ingredient of all this literary activity, from folk-

⁴ Cited in *Artículos sobre Etnografía, Historia y Costumbres del País* (Manila 1887), p. 155.

⁵ Op. cit., 24 May 1888.

⁶ Op. cit., 1 March 1887.

⁷ Quoted in *Manikilla*, 14 March 1891.

lore to politics, was a sheer rejoicing in things Filipino. Unlike his Propagandist compatriots trying to persuade the people of Madrid that Filipinos were just as competent as Spaniards, it never occurred to Isabelo that they weren't. During fifteen years of recalcitrant journalism which ultimately led to Bilibid Prison and exile to Montjuich Castle in Barcelona, he never wrote an apologetic word about anything in the Philippines. He unblushingly filled his fiction with Filipino customs and superstitions that embarrassed his *ilustrado* countrymen. He used Filipino terms so often that he once translated Morga's "*principales*" with Ilocano "*agturay* (one who governs)," moving Jose Rizal to comment pettishly: "I have read Morga some seven times and do not recall that he ever spoke of any *agturay*; I do not know whether Don Isabelo, in his laudable desire to ilocanize the Filipinos, believes it profitable to make Morga speak Ilocano."⁸ Moreover, Isabelo rejected all racist theories of Filipino origins, and boldly concluded:

The insignificant differences which exist between the partly civilized Ilocano, the Tinguian who wears pants and jacket, the pacified Igorot who though still naked has lost his unsociable and cruel nature, and the runaway fugitives with their savage customs—these differences are simply the effects of the places where they live, and they appear civilized or savage according to their being near or far from places frequented by Spaniards or civilized Ilocanos.⁹

He drove the point home with statements like, "At the time of the Conquest, Filipinos had long hair like Igorots,"¹⁰ or citing Fray Martín de Rada in 1577 to the effect that "Visayan pirates were more terrible than even the Mohammedans of Jolo and Mindanao."¹¹ But Spaniards and Filipinos alike were outraged when he wrote, "There are Aetas who surpass the Tagalogs in intelligence, and it is recognized that the Tagalogs are at the same intellectual level as the Europeans."¹² Wenceslao Retana could not contain himself, and spewed forth a vicious diatribe which concluded with the following words:

I end with one little question: Who is the greater idiot,

⁸ *La Solidaridad*, 31 October 1890.

⁹ *Historia de Ilocos* (Manila 1890), Vol. I, p. 37.

¹⁰ *La Ilustración Filipina*, 21 August 1892.

¹¹ *Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista* (Iloilo 1887), p. 36.

¹² Quoted in Wenceslao E. Retana, "Isabelo de los Reyes (alias Plátanos)," *Sinapismos: Folletos filipinos—III* (Madrid/Manila 1890), p. 43.

Don Isabelo or those who pay attention to him? I say the latter, since Don Isabelo, poor fellow, was born that way. And how can he be blamed for that?¹³

II

A half century later, when Isabelo de los Reyes was an elderly Senator fondly known as Don Belong, he used to say—with forgivable understatement—"I was by nature a fighter."¹⁴ A fighter he certainly was, and his first real fight was probably the Philippine Folklore Battle of 1884-85. The clarion had been sounded by Director José Felipe Del Pan of *La Oceanía Española* in an article entitled, "Folklore of the Philippines," in the March 21, 1884, issue, which invited readers to submit contributions on that subject. Spanish folklore had really only been born four years before when a small group of enthusiasts met in Seville and published the *Bases del Folklore Español*. In 1884, with the first issue of *El Folklore Español*, they turned to their Far Eastern colony as a natural font of living folklore, and the Director of *La Oceanía* was responding to their appeal. Del Pan himself was one of the most attractive colonials Spain ever sent to the Philippines. Dean of Manila journalists and a fatherly figure who surrounded himself with Filipino youth, he raised up a whole generation of Filipino journalists well versed in their profession and imbued with the proud traditions of the Fourth Estate. One of these proteges was the 19-year-old Ilocano. Isabelo himself tells us what happened next:

When I read this [article], there came to my mind the memory of Señor don Mariano Espiritu, who was my professor in the Vigan [Minor] Seminary, who one time had his students write down all the superstitions we could learn in order to demonstrate in class how incredible they were.

I was still carrying my collection of Ilocano popular notions in my memory then; but although I had plenty of enthusiasm for contributing to the realization of the happy proposal of the illustrious daily of Calle Real, I considered the thing above my abilities and so refrained from writing.

But then I could not evade the personal invitation of a valued friend from the *Oceanía*, and so began my Ilocano, Malabon, Zambales, and Filipino folklore, including in the last

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Cited by Jose L. Llanes, *Isabelo de los Reyes* (Manila 1949), from a manuscript notebook in the Filipiniana Division of the University of the Philippines Main Library.

such folkloric materials as had general application to the whole archipelago.

When *El Eco de Vigan* (may it rest in peace!) saw Ilocano superstitions in my *Folklore*, they gave me to understand in a little lecture that superstitions should not be included in folklore because this English word means "popular knowledge."

I recommended to them that they read the discourse on folklore by the eminent writer, Doña Emilia Pardo Bazan, President of the *Galician Folklore*, to discover their error, and also asked them what, then, superstitions were if not one kind of popular knowledge?

We can say that since *El Eco* simply couldn't wiggle out, they took another tack to sink me, as if I were an enemy of theirs, asserting that the superstitions of the *panagtutuyó* that I had written about, were nothing but creations of my own sick imagination, "just to show off as a know-it-all," they said.

If only *El Eco* had not assumed such pretensions! and how sad that the Vigan weekly did not accede to my desire of answering them in their own columns, for simply copying a few lines from page 61 of the *Diccionario geográfico estadístico histórico* of Fathers Buzeta and Bravo would have left no doubt that *El Eco* had committed a superb boner.¹⁵

But, strangely enough, *El Eco de Vigan* was not able to inflict any damage on me—as mariners say—with its sinister diatribes. Quite the opposite, it was they who gave the *Ilocano Folklore* an importance it had neither enjoyed nor deserved.¹⁶

The reaction in Spain to Isabelo's joust with *El Eco* was flattering in the extreme. In October he received the princely gift of all three volumes of the *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones españolas* from the authors themselves. This was followed by the latest Spanish books from Dr. Machado y Alvarez, founder of *El Folklore Español*, and Director Alejandro Guichot y Sierra of the *Boletín Folklórico de Sevilla*. More dazzling still were an invi-

¹⁵ *Panagtutuyó*, called *sibróng* in Andrés Caro's 1849 *Vocabulario de la Lengua ilocana, trabajado por varios Religiosos del Orden de N.P.S. Agustín*, was a killing committed after the death of a prominent man. and U.S.T. law professor Don José Moreno Lacalle assured Isabelo that such criminal cases had been brought before him during his tenure as Governor of Ilocos Norte. The reference cited in Buzeta and Bravo reads: "When a man dies, they consider it a duty to appease his spirit by sacrificing as many victims as the number of his fingers that were extended at the moment of exhaling his last breath."

¹⁶ *El Comercio*, 3 July 1885.

tation to write up his views on proper folkloristic terminology, and a request to make a public appeal for the organization of a *Philippine Folklore*. Isabelo's response to the first was the "Terminologia del Folk-lore" which appeared in the next issue of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. Typically, he referred to himself in it as "brother of the wild Aetas, Igorots and Tinguianes,"¹⁷ a confession—or boast—for which the Philippine press was to lampoon him for years afterwards.

His response to the second was made after a slight pause to pass his final exams in "Principles of Civil, Commercial and Penal Law" with a grade of 1.0 (*Sobresaliente*). It was an open letter which Jaime de Veyra called the "Llamamiento al folklorismo—Call to folklore studies."¹⁸ It appealed to readers for the collection of Philippine folklore and the establishment of a folklore society complete with regional branches in each province. Appearing in the sober *El Comercio* on March 21, 1885, it passed largely unnoticed except for two readers with very different reactions. The first was "Mario"—artist-journalist Miguel Zaragoza—who responded with a slightly tongue-in-cheek account of Visayan funeral customs in five installments in the Iloilo *Porvenir de Visayas* called "*Al rededor de un cadáver*—Around the corpse." The other respondent was "Astoll."

"Astoll" was José de Lacalle y Sánchez, a physician in the Army Medical Corps and professor of anatomy in the U.S.T., who for years wrote a sardonic—but often very funny—column called "Manila" in which he pilloried metropolitan society as a zoofull of pretentious status-seekers of lazy intellect and shallow culture. In this vein, he predicted in the June 27 issue of *El Comercio* that nothing would come of the noble dream of a Philippine folklore. Isabelo replied with a lively expansion of his ideas, to which Lacalle responded with one of the best columns he ever wrote—a ringing endorsement which displayed familiarity with the new discipline and admiration for Isabelo's energy and idealism, but nonetheless maintained his pessimistic prognosis. Naturally, the young Ilocano over-achiever would not let the matter rest there, and so came back with still more propaganda. The good-natured Lacalle then closed the exchange with quiet dignity by saying that he saw no profit in prolonging a debate he considered completely sterile. And, of course, the worldly wise "Astoll" was correct. Not for another 75 years was a Philippine Folklore Society to come into existence, long after Isabelo's death.

¹⁷ Cited in *El Folklore Filipino* (Manila 1889), Vol. I, p. 19.

¹⁸ Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, *Efemérides filipinas* (Manila 1914), p. 278.

Spaniards in Manila were not interested in such an esoteric intellectual exercise, and the last thing in the world Spanish-speaking Filipinos wanted was to call attention to the quaint customs which set them apart from those Peninsular gentlemen they were trying to emulate. Isabelo himself said:

Indios think it is shocking and shameful to write *The Philippine Folklore* because, they say, this is to publicize our own simplicity. I am an *indio* and an Ilocano—why should I not say it?—and when my beloved brothers learned about my modest articles on *Ilocano Folklore* which were published in *La Oceanía*, they rose up against me, saying that I had disgraced my own people.¹⁹

Thus was the Philippine Folklore Battle of 1884-85 lost.

But though Isabelo may have lost the Battle, his forays had not been "completely sterile." His newfound friend, Miguel ("Mario") Zaragoza, adopted his literary style in *La Ilustración Filipina* by larding feature articles and fiction alike with Filipino terms and customs. Mariano Ponce published a series called "*Folklore bulaqueño*" in *La Oceanía*, and Pedro Serrano and Pio Mondragon contributed folklore from Pampanga and Tayabas respectively. Even Pedro Groizard of the satirical *Manila Alegre* came out with a wedding song he had recorded in a remote barrio about "*el guerrero Mapálad*," which he considered a "15th-century Tagalog tradition" because it preserved the memory of a day when you could tell how many men a hero had killed by the color of his *potong*, and live slaves were interred with him when he died. But without doubt the richest prize of all Isabelo's efforts was his own two-volume *El Folklore Filipino*. It was Isabelo's old mentor and benefactor, Felipe Del Pan, who collected his separate articles in a single volume the year he graduated with the Notarial Degree, and sent it off to the Philippine Exposition in Madrid, where it won a silver medal on Sept. 18, 1887. Two years later it was reprinted with a second volume which contained the articles by Ponce, Serrano Laktaw and Mondragón, as well as the text and translation of the Ilocano ethno-epic, "*Biag ni Lam-ang*."

El Folklore Filipino is not only one of Isabelo de los Reyes's most significant contributions to our knowledge of the Filipino people, but stands unrivaled even today for the variety and detail of its contents. Unfortunately, it has not only been completely for-

¹⁹ *El Comercio*, 21 March 1885.

gotten, but has almost disappeared. So far as I know, no library contains both volumes, except the Rare Books Section of the Philippine National Library, and its copy of Volume Two—the only one I have ever seen—is imperfect. For this reason, it may be useful here to review *El Folklore Filipino's* contents.

III

Volume One of *El Folklore Filipino* opens with an introduction which gives some of the details of Isabelo's embattled excursion into the field of Philippine folklore—the date, for example, when he began collecting Ilocano samples for Del Pan, May 24, 1884. He refers gratefully to Miguel Zaragosa's contribution, and cites Lacalle's accurate predictions of doom. He ends with a little apologia which reveals just how bitter the battle had been:

And such is my impartiality that I have sacrificed the affection of the Ilocanos for the sake of science, since I did not refrain from bringing even their less pleasant practices to light.

But I should inform them that I have received enthusiastic congratulations from various scholars in Europe, who say that with the *Ilocano Folklore* (leaving misconstrued patriotism aside), I have rendered a signal service to Ilocos, my adored fatherland, since I have thus provided abundant materials to enable them to study its prehistory and other scientific problems pertaining to that province; and my articles published in *La Oceanía Española* were translated into German by the very important European scientific journals, *Globus* and *Ausland*, which proves that they have a more serious purpose than to ridicule my countrymen, as they will realize themselves as soon as they see how they were portrayed.

And speaking of patriotism, how many times has it been said in the newspapers that to me only Ilocos and the Ilocanos are any good? Those articles and supplements in the Philippine press which revealed their merits, defended them and sought reforms on their behalf—who is to be credited with those?... Everyone serves his people as he thinks best, and I believe I am contributing to the understanding of my people's past with the *Ilocano Folklore*. All this I bring up because to me the worst man is that unhappy wretch who is not endowed with that noble and sacred sentiment they call patritiotism.²⁰

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 17-18.

The introduction is followed by the complete text of the "*Terminología del Folk-lore*" from the Aug. 31, 1885, *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and Dec. 19 *El Comercio*. Then, the first three chapters, which make up the bulk of the volume, are essentially the collected "*Folk-lore Ilocano*" articles, of which chapter one, "Folkloric materials about religion, mythology and psychology" originally appeared as the "prehistoric epoch" of the *Historia de Ilocos* and was translated into German by Ferdinand Blumentritt as "*Die religiösen Anschauungen der Ilocanen*—The religious world-view of the Ilocanos." A few details from its 81 pages will illustrate the author's technique and competence.

He considers the Ilocos Sur corpse-eating *katatao-an* to be what the early Spanish accounts call *anitos*, and notes that they arrive in the middle of the night in pirate ships that sail through the sky—an interesting detail since it parallels Minadanao and Palawan beliefs. The *litao* is the *anito* of the sea, not the *sirena*, which he recognizes as a Spanish introduction. The *pugot* he describes as a poltergeist, and gives an example recorded in Vigan sometime in 1865-1867 when stones kept falling on the roof of a house despite its being surrounded by the police but which did not hurt anybody they struck. He gives credit to the late Filipino priest Pastor Velazquez for ridding Vigan of many superstitions which persist elsewhere in Ilocos, and mentions an *anting-anting* booklet he received from a criminal called. "Prayer of the Testament which was found in the Holy Sepulcher of our Savior Jesus." A section on "Folklore of the sea," originally written in response to a questionnaire from Paul Sébillot, author of *Les contes des marins*, includes a kind of Tagalog compass rose which distinguishes the four cardinal points and four intermediary ones plus North-northwest and South-southeast. The following description of the *sangkabagi* may be quoted at length as a fair sample of the author's style:

In Ilocos Norte, the *katatao-an* is not known. Instead, they have those called *sangkabagi* (pronounced "sangkabagui") which are similar to the former, and I believe that *katatao-an* and *sangkabagi* refer to the same *anito*, which is not strange because there are words in Ilocos Norte which are not found in Ilocos Sur—like *salaysay*, *kain*, *buybuy*, etc. There are quack doctors in Ilocos Norte who claim to be the friends of the *sangkabagi* and they say that it costs them nothing to gain the said *sangkabagi*'s friendship. These appear to their chosen in the middle of the night in the windows and holes, from where they wake them with scarcely audible voices, and have them embark on a flying *barangay* or boat, like those of

the *katatao-an*, in which they travel through space, leaving at one in the morning and going all around the world in half an hour. The common Ilocanos say that the *sangkabagi* appear to many but that some people do not accept their friendship because these *anitos* forbid their friends to use rosaries, hear mass, make the sign of the cross, or comply with their Christian religious duties, for the *sangkabagi* admit that they cannot come near their friends if these practice such pious acts. (Compare this with what Concepción says about the *Tigbalan*.)

The *sangkabagi* take revenge on those who disdain their friendship by dragging them on the ground when they are sleeping, or carrying them off to other places, or removing their liver and filling the empty space with grass. And it is recounted that the *sangkabagi* have eyesight so penetrating they can see living men's entrails right through the skin. And other times they cause the *anay* (*termes monoceros*) or the weevils to destroy the clothes, palay, corn, and seeds of anybody who causes them any displeasure. On the other hand, they give their most esteemed friends a so-called "Company Book" [*Libro de Compañía*, the *Compañía* being the Society of Jesus], and this book transports them with inconceivable speed wherever they wish even if it is many leagues away, simply by indicating the place they want to go. (This belief was undoubtedly added to purely Ilocano beliefs by the Spaniards: it is a common belief that the Jesuits possess miraculous little books.) They say that an old native of Sarrat (I.N.) went from his town to Laoag, a distance of one league, to buy things and returned with his purchases in four minutes. And he did this every day, morning, noon, and night. And, the commoners say, the *sangkabagi* also teach their friends to make clocks, and give them roots to cure any kind of illness instantaneously just by bringing these miraculous roots near their patients.²¹

Section xx of chapter one is "Ilocano superstitions which are found in Europe," a list based on considerable research in Portuguese and Spanish sources, whose coincidence Isabelo explains as being more logically the result of Spanish introductions into the Philippines than Filipino introductions into Spain. And to press the point, he refers the readers to an earlier essay, "The Devil in the Philippines." *El Diablo en Filipinas* was a hilarious piece in which a pious provinciano defends his belief in

²¹ Ibid., pp. 30-32.

ghosts and evil spirits by quoting examples of Spanish friars who saw and heard apparitions of the Devil, citing volume, chapter and page number from their Orders' official chronicles as evidence—from which Isabelo wickedly concludes that it must have been the friars who introduced the Devil into the archipelago. And if any friar reader failed to detect a scent of mischief in section xx, he must certainly have noticed it in the next one, "Christian folklore." Here, hard on the heels of quack doctors, poltergeists, and body-snatching *katatao-an*, comes a fine ethnographic description of Christian fiestas, games played, Church calendars, popular beliefs, and "the voyage of the soul."

Chapter two is "Folkloric materials about class habits and customs." Isabelo presents a three-class division of Ilocano society—*babaknang* (the rich) or *amaen ti ili* (town fathers); *kailian* (lower class town dwellers); and *katalonan* (those living among the fields). He describes their clothes, food and occupations, and customs during pregnancy, delivery and baptism—as well as "re-baptism," *buniag ti sirok ti latok* (literally, "naming under the winnowing basket"), a ceremony in which a sick child is given another name to deceive the spirit causing the illness. Ten sections cover music, songs, dances, houses, furniture, utensils, and personal greeting cards—"illuminated or gilded, or with drawings, gothic letters, colored ink, or acrostic poems." "*Fiestas de las autoridades*" describes formal receptions during which newly appointed government officials are regaled, eulogized, and crowned with floral wreaths. With dogged professionalism, Isabelo includes the custom of *cencerradas* even though, "strictly speaking, it is not found in Ilocos," but since he had heard of one case in Abra, he will report it. (*Cencerradas* are raucous peasant serenades called *charivari*, *shivaree*, or *callithumpi* in English, intended to invade the privacy of newlyweds on their wedding night.) And, as usual, his wide reading enlivens the text with colorful trivia: he comments, "In the ports of China, the deeds of Ilocano sailors who valiantly drove off pirates are still remembered,"²² and cites an act from the little-known 1773 Synod of Calasiao which proscribes the use of the Ilocano term *agbuniag* for *bautizar* because of its prehispanic—and therefore non-Christian—connotation.

Chapter three is called "Folkloric materials about literature: poems of Doña Leona Florentino." Leona Florentino was Isabelo's mother, and the 22 samples of her work presented here had been sent to Madame Andrezia Volska for inclusion in a collection called *Bibliothèque Internationale de Oeuvres des Femmes* presented to

²² Ibid., p. 116.

the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris. Some of them had also been published in his 1887 *Ilocanadas* in Iloilo, and one, dedicated to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee, had been included in an album presented to Manila Archbishop Pedro Payo. An introductory essay on Filipina womanhood reviews her condition today and in the past, and her education under the Spaniards. This is followed by an excellent discussion of Philippine poesy—rhyme schemes, strophes, confusion of *e* with *i* and *o* with *u* “because Philippine dialects only had three vowels at the time of the Conquest”²³—and its place in Ilocano society for felicitations, love songs, eulogies, and satires. He deplores the fact that Filipinos do not preserve their poems once they have served these social functions, and says the present specimens of his mother’s work—which he is saving like precious gold—are the only survivors of the thousands she is known to have written.

The first poem, “Greetings to Vicente and Severina on their wedding day,” is presented in a surprisingly modern format. The Ilocano text is followed, first by a literal line-by-line Spanish equivalent, and then by a “free but faithful translation” for the readers’ easier comprehension. It is accompanied by copious footnotes containing grammatical, rhetorical, and cultural explanations. “*No ubingda pay a maladaga*—when their daughters were still pullets,” for example, is glossed with the comment, “This comparison with pullets is frequent in Ilocano, and indicates the great care with which we must tend them because of their weakness and delicacy.”²⁴

Chapter three is followed by an appendix which states frankly that the author now sees he has neither the time nor space to complete the seven chapters he had intended—he has deadlines to meet for three newspapers—so four of them will have to remain in the inkwell—Leechcraft, Folk-wit, Folk-tradition and Folk-science. He will therefore plan to publish a second volume, but meanwhile will add a few more items about Ilocos and then try to justify the title, *Folk-lore Filipino*, with two items on Malabon and Zambales.

The additional Ilocos items are unrelated articles—a piece on medicine and flora, a few traditions (like the *Pantok ni Silang* hill outside Vigan where Diego Silang was betrayed), and “The goal of the *Folk-lore Ilocano*.” Three short articles in the style of personal interviews are called “Filipino quack doctors and their abominable practices,” though the word “abominable” is used ironically. A list of Spanish filipinisms such as the Manila use

²³ Ibid., p. 176.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 180.

of *escuchar* (to listen) to mean *mirar por un agujero* (to peep through a hole) is followed by a short collection of Filipino proverbs. Then comes "*Dios-diosan*," an informative review of popular religious sects all over the archipelago, including such local samples as the following:

In 1881 or 1882, an old woman was apprehended in Ilocos Sur because she made believe she was the Most Holy Virgin Mary. When she arrived in Vigan, capital city of the Ilocano regions, it was observed that credulous people kissed her tresses with avid veneration.²⁵

"The folklore of Zambales" contains two items—"The day of the dead" and "Country weddings"—and the "Folklore of Malabon" five—Popular superstitions, Fortune-telling, Folk-medicine, Love-making, and Rumors—which are followed by a guidebook-style monograph on Malabon itself, where Isabelo was living with his father-in-law at the time.

The last section in Volume One is called "Administrative folklore?"—a title which, even with its question mark, must have been even more provocative than "Christian folklore." At first glance, it seems completely out of place because it is a short story, an amusing bit of fiction. But a perceptive reader will understand why it is there after reading just a few pages. The hero, a local boy called Isio, makes good in the indigo business by dint of hard work and thrift and is therefore appointed *gobernadorcillo*, an office he considers an honorable opportunity to serve his people. But he quickly learns that such appointments are simply the means by which higher officials mulct lower ones: one of his predecessors lost an arm chasing bandits, some were imprisoned, and all were ruined. For a while, he struggles idealistically—and naively—against a corrupt system in which the functions of office have no correlation to their definitions. When he finally takes to the hills and becomes a kind of Robin Hood among the Igorots, the message is clear: pretensions of law and justice in the colony are just as unreal as those miracle-working *Libros de Compañía* or *sangkabagi* flying boats. The tale is a naughty expose but one rendered so subtle by its comic dialogue that the reactionary *Diario de Manila* published it under another title without realizing its implications. And it qualifies Isabelo de los Reyes as the first Filipino to catalogue political myths right where they belong—in a collection of folklore.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 260.

IV

Volume Two of *El Folklore Filipino* contains a prologue, eight articles or documents neither pertaining to Ilocos nor written by Isabelo, and the long Ilocano ethno-epic "The life of Lam-ang." The prologue opens by explaining that Miguel "Mario" Zaragoza's five articles in the *Porvenir de Visayas* called "Around the corpse" are not folklore in the strict sense.

These letters are, however, humorous articles about Visayan customs, models of their genre. There are excellent pictures in them, and great depth of truth: the characters which the distinguished author portrays actually exist and are genuinely folkloric although he has heightened the real colors to provoke the readers' laughter.

It used to be the style, and is still the style in the Philippines, to ridicule the customs of the country, always exaggerating them to amuse the readers and not to inform them of what they don't know; but *Folklore* pursues a more lofty, scientific goal.²⁶

The first four selections are all reprints—with the authors' permission—from the popular press. The first is the Zaragoza "*Al rededor de un cadáver.*" This is followed by Mariano Ponce's "*El Folk-lore bulaqueño,*" which is straightforward, basic folklore—customs, traditions, superstitions, folktales, proverbs, etc. Pedro Serrano Laktaw's "*Folk-lore pampango*" is actually two separate articles—one about Mount Sinukuan, Arayat, and the invincible *suku* who inhabits it, and a fine summary of agricultural rites reported in sequence. Pío Mondragon's "*Folk-lore tayabeño,*" sent from Guinayangan on Jan. 17, 1887, is similar to Ponce's work but rather better. Then comes a "Folkloric miscellany" introduced as follows:

Among other scattered materials collected for this miscellany are some very curious unpublished documents about the Rulers of the Philippines and Moluccas at the time of the Conquest, which assume an official form. The copies which a fairly well educated old man supplied me are on unofficial paper and unauthenticated by official seals.

As of the present writing, I assign them no more value than that of folkloric material for the history of the Philippines; that is to say, I consider them raw material which some

²⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

artist must polish, who in this case will have to be somebody who possesses a deep knowledge of the history of this archipelago and the Mollucas, to ascertain if they are apochryphal or, if genuine, to explain certain facts which contradict those which are accepted as historic truths.

I confess that I have not had time to examine these documents carefully in the light of history, and simply transcribe them here literally and without amendment, but with a few annotations.²⁷

The "most curious unpublished documents" presented are two wills—that of Fernando Malang Balagtas dated March 25, 1539, and that of his descendant, Andrés Mangaya, dated Oct 3, 1563. The testator of the former claims to be related by blood or marriage to royal families of Ternate, Borneo, Cebu, and Manila, and to have been baptized by a bishop in Cebu in 1524. Two of these dates are glaringly anachronous, of course: the only Spaniards in the Philippines in 1524 or 1539 were captive survivors of Magellan's fleet, and none of them were either priests or bishops. They may be simple mistakes on the part of a senile illiterate on his deathbed, but similar details in an official death certificate appended to the will cannot be dismissed so lightly. The death certificate purports to have been sworn, in the first-person singular, by Augustinian Procurator Fray Juan de Jesús in the Mission of San Carlos on March 21 of the year "*mill quinientos treinta y nueve*." Aside from the curious date and the even more curious circumstance of the testator's death having preceded the execution of his will by four days, both Isabelo and others who examined the documents were aware that there had been no Augustinian friar by the name of Juan de Jesús in the Philippines in the 16th century, nor had there been any mission or town of San Carlos at that time. As a topnotcher in graduate courses in palaeography, and the theory and practice of editing public documents, Isabelo wisely refrained from attributing authenticity to either document.

The next item, "Lakandula, the Ruler of Tondo," is presented not as a "curious unpublished document," but as an "unpublished document." The original from which Isabelo copied it was written on official stamped paper, bore the seal of the Alcaldia of Pampanga, and was dated in Bacolor on Oct. 31, 1883. It forwarded to Don Pedro Macapagal Mallari **Lakandula** the favorable reply of the Spanish Government through the *Dirección general*

²⁷ Ibid., p. 173.

de la Administración civil in Manila on Sept. 22 of the same year, to his request for tax exemption on the grounds of a 17th-century grant to his ancestor, Juan Makapagal, great-grandson of Lakan-dula. The government correspondence quotes all the pertinent documents necessary to substantiate the claim across two centuries, each one notariially authenticated, back to the original which is dated Manila, 24 November 1660. Isabelo accepted the document as genuine on its own internal evidence, and probably never knew that the Archives of the Indies contained corroborating evidence—Juan Makapagal's *curriculum vitae* of May 23, 1665, for example, or the Queen Regent's Royal Decree of June 1, 1667, granting his request. It is ironic that modern historians, prehistorians, and quasi-historians have paid so much attention to the dubious "Will of Fernando Malang Balagtas" that details contained in the authentic 1660 document have never appeared in our history texts. For that reason, it may be useful here to present the passages pertaining to Juan Makapagal's great-grandfather, Lakandula:

Don Carlos Lacandola, his great-grandfather, was Lord and most principal of the town of Tondo, and of the other surrounding towns, whose natives paid him tribute and vassalage and other recognition as their natural lord, and when ships from China came to this bay, they similarly paid him duties and anchorage fees, he removing their sails and rudder for this purpose, and taking their merchandise by paying half its value at the time and the other half the next year, without any other natives being able to buy anything from the Sangleyes but only from the said Lacandola, from which he had much profit, which he ceded at the coming of the Spaniards to these Islands, they collecting the said tributes and duties for His Majesty.

And at the time when Adelantado Miguel López Legazpi came on the conquest and colonization of these Islands, the said Don Carlos Lacandola went out to receive him in this bay, taking the other lords who were his relatives with him, and his vassals, and rendered obedience to His Majesty, making the others do the same, and he helped make a house for the accommodation of the said Adelantado, and a fort with his men, for which he gave fourteen pieces of artillery and twelve jars of gunpowder, which at that time were of much importance for the Royal service, for which he showed such fidelity and desire to serve His Majesty that he then had Don Dionisio Capulong and his other sons baptized, as the said Lacandola

was afterwards himself, at which baptism the said Lord Governor showed him great honor by ordering the artillery and arquebuses which are now in the City discharged.

And when *Maestro-de-Campo* Martín de Goiti went on the conquest of the province of Pampanga, the said Adelantado called the said Lacandola and asked him to join His Majesty's service for if so great a chief should go with him, when the Pampangos saw that he had given obedience to His Majesty, they would give it also; and the said Lacandola agreed to go, and served with two ships provided at his own cost, and distinguished himself by performing much service for His Majesty, and went along so the said Pampangos would give him obedience, as in fact they did.

In the same way, when the enemy Limahon came to sack and seize the City with a great number of Chinese, the said Lacandola helped resist them with his sons, relatives, and vassals, and when the said enemy withdrew to the Province of Pangasinan with the loss of his men and fortified himself there, his said great-grandfather went in pursuit, and his brothers, taking ships and men at their own cost, and distinguishing himself by spending much of his wealth.²⁸

The last item in *El Folklore Filipino* is the longest and probably the most important—the text of that Ilocano epic called “The life of Lam-ang” and Isabelo’s translation of it. This fine example of folk literature is nowadays so well-known and esteemed by Filipino folklorists that it comes as a surprise to realize that less than a century ago even an authority on the Ilocos like Isabelo de los Reyes had to “discover” and translate it for the first time. His introductory note is as follows:

On page 16 of the first volume of this book, I mention a curious poem which the Ilocanos sing to genuine music of the country, that of the *dal-lot*. Thanks to the amiability of the learned parish priest of Bangar, the Reverend Fray Gerardo Blanco, I am able to insert it here and correct certain mistaken details I had received, among others that the hero was a woman.

I once heard a *balitao* or popular song of the Visayas in the same traditional style, which seemed to me more epic in tone.

We will interpolate the literal translation in the stanzas, by which readers will notice some omissions, which I attribute

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 219-221.

to lapses of memory on the part of the singer, which would not be strange considering the length of the poem. As I received it, it appeared to be completely in six-line strophes, but the sense turns out to be better if it is presented in quatrains, especially since I have found nothing but strophes of four lines in Ilocos, except for the *Pasión*, which is foreign.²⁹

V

It is Philippine folklore's loss that Isabelo de los Reyes never completed those missing four chapters of *El Folklore Filipino*, nor ever produced another formal collection of Philippine customs and traditions. Instead, he made use of his knowledge for the setting of many of the short stories he published during a long journalistic career in which he owned and edited six newspapers and wrote for dozens of others. "*Una leyenda prehistórica*," for example, is a romance which appeared under various titles in Spanish, Ilocano, and Tagalog versions in 1890-1893. Its hero, Aglal-lalaki, is a slave who rises to become a respected *agturáy* wearing a red *potong*, dancing the *tadek* and *kinnotan*, and regaling his beloved Sabong with "piles of gold" for her *sab-ong*. More typical is his 1892 "*Un idilio*," which portrays Ilocano customs under Spanish domination. It opens with a prose style as characteristic of Isabelo as a trademark:

A burning love had fused the two hearts of Intay and Pinchong into one, poor and simple *pastores* of Magsingal, Ilocos Sur. One serene night, they were sitting on the bank of a crystal stream in the field called Paspaslep. . .

Then comes a dialogue of coy courtship, in the course of which the rustic young hero quotes a school teacher's definition of "Love." Isabelo explains this unexpected erudition with the following footnote: "The *pastor* had been a student, but since only Latin was taught in Vigan and it's obvious you can't make a living off Latin, he had to become a *pastor*."³⁰

Long after Ilocano customs under Spanish domination had become a dead issue, the "well-known Filipino folklorist" could still produce such tales if the spirit moved him. I am indebted to Dr. Resil Mojares for the pleasant evidence that a quarter of a century after the Folklore Battle of 1884-85, when Don Belong was

²⁹ Ibid., p. 235.

³⁰ *La Ilustración Filipina*, 28 October 1892.

a mellowed, middle-aged municipal councilor, he had not lost his touch. On July 9, 1918, he sent a Cebuano legend called "*La Besa de Carcar*" to the *Cebu Nueva Fuerza* which closes with a passage that is pure, vintage Isabelo de los Reyes:

And when the friar's sonorous kiss shattered the majestic silence of those woods, God was so horrified at the sacrilege he hurled down a thunderbolt and turned him to stone, together with his horse. The lovers thus had no need to stain their hands with friar blood, and after all their misfortunes, God sanctified their love with every sort of Blessing.³¹

Looking back at Isabelo's brief career as the "Father of Philippine Folklore," it is tempting to dismiss his efforts as a passing phase in the busy life of a literary gadfly. But this would not be an adequate explanation for a struggle so dynamic. Rather, the Folklore Battle must be seen as the first of a long line of windmills at which the Ilocano Quixote was to tilt.

He started propagandizing for Filipino representation in the Spanish Cortes at a time when Retana could say, "My dear fellow, neither Rizal nor anybody on *La Solidaridad* has dared to tackle that subject here."³² Ten years later, upon his release from political detention in Barcelona, he wrote a series of friar attacks in *El Progreso* so acrid Bishop Martínez Vigil of Oviedo wrote him, "López Jaena, Rizal, and Marcelo H. del Pilar themselves would have been frightened had they read them."³³ He waged a kind of one-man war against the Vatican which resulted in a libel suit in Spain and the founding of a brand new church in the Philippines. Six months after he founded the Unión Obrera Democrática, he was jailed for labor agitating, but was no sooner released than he defiantly started publishing *La Redención del Obrero*. His fortnightly *Filipinas ante Europa* was so virulently anti-American that men were arrested for circulating it, and his *Defensor de Filipinas* soon afterwards took America to task for her broken promises to the Filipino people. Not until 1912 was the rebel journalist ready to quit struggling, make his peace with a colonial regime he couldn't change, and run for public office.

A favorite figure of Isabelo de los Reyes's fiction is the hero

³¹ Op. cit., loc cit.

³² Quoted in a letter to Retana, 14 September 1897, in Achútegui and Bernard, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines*, Vol. 4 (Manila 1972), p. 97.

³³ Quoted in *La sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina en 1896-1897* (Madrid 1899), pp. 118-119.

who is *loco de amor*—mad with love. Many people thought Isabelo was more than a little touched with madness himself. Perhaps he was. Perhaps he was mad with love for the Filipino people. It would not be strange for a man called the "Father of Philippine Folklore" to be so afflicted, for the formal study of folklore has historically been connected with pride of nation. The rash of folklore societies which appeared in Europe in the 1880's coincided with an outbreak of feverish nationalism that avidly shouldered White Man's Burdens and produced today's Third World. Conversely, no folklore societies appeared in the Philippines during the 1880's when the native elite was far too interested in the culture of a non-Filipino nation to heed the *Llamamiento al folklorismo* of a Filipino prophet crying in the wilderness. It is probably no coincidence that the first Philippine Folklore Society had to await the rise of a new generation of self-conscious Filipino nation-builders before it could be born in 1958. And it is no coincidence, either, that when it was, a Filipino citizen was presiding over the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization.

Isabelo de los Reyes: *Provinciano* and Nationalist*

Spanish Manila used to celebrate Saint Andrew's Day on November 30 with public prayers and festivities in memory of the salvation of the young colony in 1576 from capture by Chinese corsair Limahong. Newspapers took note of the occasion with headings like "The Fiesta of San Andrés and the Banner of Castile," and articles which celebrated a hairbreadth escape from slavery, barbarity, bloodshed, and the pernicious sect of Confucius. In 1881, however, the sober *El Comercio* published an article with the strange title, "The loyalty of the Ilocanos to Spain."

A glorious page was recorded in history when the heroism of the Spanish soldiers and the loyalty of the Ilocanos defended Manila against the evil designs of Lima Hong.

Don Juan Salcedo was in Vigan (capital of Ilocos Sur) when he learned that many ships were crossing those waters in the direction of Manila, and he managed to raise men for the defense of the threatened city for, since he had quickly won the esteem of the Ilocanos of Ilocos Sur, it had not taken him long to subdue them. Now the brave conquistador of Ilocos Sur put himself at the head of a multitude of valiant Ilocanos and a handful of Spaniards and started for Manila, which he hardly reached before a bloody battle broke out in which the Spaniards and Ilocanos together triumphed like the 300 Spartans at Thermopylae, defeating the numerous invaders and driving them out of Manila with their blood staining the waters of the sea. So the banner of Castile waved majestically over that region of pearly clouds to the sound of a thousand acclamations of victory.

Manila once erected a nice monument to the illustrious Anda: why have her celebrated sculptors not taken up their sharp chisels to render homage to the resolute Salcedo? Why have her chosen musicians not entoned a hymn of glory to the

*Paper read at the Second International Philippine Studies Conference, Ala Moana Americana Hotel, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 29-30, 1981.

proud Spaniards? Why have her famous painters not taken canvas to perpetuate the deeds of the loyal Ilocanos? Ah, noble sons of Manila, return the favor which you received from the generous hands of others, for the blood poured out on your behalf deserves its prize.¹

Appearing in the staid and censured Manila press, the article must have come as a bit of a shock. Colonial newspapers and schoolbooks habitually referred to Filipinos, not as actors in their own destiny, but as passive recipients of Spain's civilizing benevolence. Yet this impertinent article not only paired Filipinos and Spaniards in the field of battle, but seemed to suggest that Spaniards wouldn't have been able to retain Manila without Filipino assistance. And not merely Filipino assistance, but Ilocano assistance—Ilocanos from the remote provinces of the northern Luzon boondocks. The implications must also have annoyed the capital's Tagalog reading public, which tended to regard Ilocanos as tight-fisted *provincianos* at best, household menials at worst. But what was downright irritating about the article was that it had been written by a 17-year-old schoolboy.

That schoolboy was Isabelo de los Reyes, a fourth-year student in Letran. He had been born in Vigan in 1864, and he came early to an articulate awareness of his Ilocano heritage. His mother was a famous poet in the vernacular, and one of his teachers used to send his pupils out to collect local customs and superstitions. He went to Manila in 1880 to complete his Bachelor's Degree, breezed through Letran and the University of Santo Tomas with a straight-A average (i.e., *sobresaliente*), and spent most of his time in the library digging out such obscure facts about Ilocos as those that appeared in the Saint Andrew's Day piece. At the age of 16 he was already publishing Ilocano folklore in the popular press, and soon attracted the attention of European scholars like Austrian Filipinologist Ferdinand Blumentritt and Spanish ethnographers who were just then founding Spain's first folklore societies. By the time he obtained the Notarial Degree in 1887, he was a full-time journalist, and had won the praise, bemusement, or scorn of his readers by his constant allusions to his home province.

Isabelo's output on Ilocos was remarkable both for its size and its scope. If it did not actually run from the sublime to the ridiculous, it at least ran from serious studies to light fiction. His casual little articles on folklore were published again and again, translated into European languages, and collected into a corpus which became the basis for the two-volume *El Folklore*

¹ *El Comercio*, March 29, 1881.

Filipino. He spent years culling references from published sources and tapping oral traditions to produce his *Historia de Ilocos*. A series of articles he wrote for Visayan papers appeared in book form as *Ilocanadas*, and many of his "*Narraciones ilocanas*" were reprinted for their moralizing or didactic content—or the subtle colonial criticisms which that content disguised.

For years, Ilocos received better and more affectionate news coverage than any other province in the colony. An exposition of commercial products which accompanied the Candon town fiesta of 1892 was reported exhibit by exhibit and medal by medal. Vigan was constantly in the news: the Rector of the Seminary is opening a *museo-biblioteca* with cultural artifacts from the neighboring Tinguian tribe; Governor General Weyler will inaugurate the new Ayuntamiento (town council) which is being restored after a lapse of three centuries; the Vigan calesa invented by Señor German Quiles, and called by his name, wins first prize in the Madrid Exposition of 1887 for its "elegance, comfort, economy, and privacy." Nor could any reader miss Isabelo's touch: a new hat-making industry is said to be due to the Ilocano "habit of hard work, little encountered in these latitudes where the climate so dissipates one's energy." And it is being operated by children of nine or ten because "Ilocano children do not spend their time in childish games but in pasturing cows, tending gardens, and other useful pastimes."²

In June 1889, Isabelo became the only *indio* ever licensed to own and operate a paper in the colony—*El Ilocano*, which Retana called "the first genuinely Filipino periodical."³ Published in both Spanish and Ilocano, it has sometimes been called the first vernacular newspaper in the Philippines, but the *Diarióng Tagalog* actually preceded it by seven years. The *Diarióng*, however, only survived five months, while *El Ilocano* was so popular that within four years it was able to purchase a printing press out of its profits. Isabelo's editorial on that occasion gives a good idea of the paper, the man, and his ideals.

As this publication enters its fifth year of existence, we cherish a plan of inaugurating a modest press of our own.

We have already received all the crates from Europe containing the types and presses, and only lack the cases, galleys, and chevalets which are being finished in the reputable shop of Don Primitivo Formoso of Vigan, since, inasmuch as

² Ibid., February 23, 1888.

³ Wenceslao E. Retana, *Aparato Bibliográfico de la Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid 1906), vol. 3, p. 1653.

this whole printshop is being established exclusively from the proceeds of *El Ilocano* sales, we wanted all the materials made in Ilocos which could be made there, and we intend, moreover, that all the personnel should be Ilocanos, too.

We founded *El Ilocano* with no other object than that of rendering service to our beloved Ilocano people, defending their interests, and contributing to the enlightenment of their children; never did any sort of business motive enter into our plans on founding this humble fortnightly: thus whatever we wrote and all we have done has been without hope of gain. We therefore left our annual profits on the books in our account until we had saved up the sum needed to acquire a press of our own, however modest...

And if we have achieved this in matters of finance, which is almost incredible, what might be said of the effects of our propaganda on behalf of civilization, progress, and different kinds of useful knowledge?

And our campaigns on behalf of Ilocano interests: have they proved to be completely sterile? Examine the back issues of *El Ilocano* and see whether or not everything that was requested has been approved by our zealous authorities.

But enough. Our whole aspiration is simply the intellectual, moral, and material advancement of the Philippines in general and the Ilocos in particular, and we will dedicate all our energies to attaining it.⁴

It was quite a success story. Isabelo himself ascribed it to the loyalty of his Ilocano subscribers. And their loyalty he explained by one word—"patriotismo."⁵

* * *

In 1884, Jose A Ramos invited Isabelo de los Reyes to become a Mason. Ramos had returned from England two years earlier with an English education and bride, and opened a store, *La Gran Bretaña*, which became the gathering place of Filipino critics of the colonial regime and a distribution center for radical pamphlets. He had come to know Isabelo through the press, and what attracted him to the young author was not Isabelo's loyalty to one particular province, but his patriotism. Masons in Spain were dedicatedly anti-clerical and in the Philippines quickly became agents of reformist or revolutionary activism. Such men

⁴ Ibid., p. 1654.

⁵ Cited in Retana, *Sinapismos: bromitas y critiquillas Folletas filipinos—III* (Madrid/Manila 1890), p. 42.

noticed the revisionist implications of Isabelo's articles about the historic relations between Spaniards and Filipinos. Indeed, perceptive nationalists all over the colony recognized the larger significance of Isabelo's "my-beloved-Ilocos" stance: his proposal to rename two Ilocos towns after local heroes Lorenzo Peding and Pedro Lopez was applauded by *La Opinion* in Manila and *El Eco de Panay* in Iloilo as a patriotic move "not just for Ilocos, but for the *patria*."⁶

When Isabelo printed Ilocano almanacs, they opened with a unique feature—a pageful of "Dates Ilocanos should know."⁷ Here, along with such events as the introduction of the semaphore telegraph in 1797 and the birth of painter Juan Luna in 1858, are the Ilocos uprisings of 1589, 1661, 1762, 1807, 1811, 1815 and 1817—a list sweetened, perhaps, by the names of those Ilocano *capitanes* Peding and Lopez who took the Spanish side in 1661. His treatment of Diego Silang in the *Historia de Ilocos*—that "arch traitor" who not only revolted against Spain but allied himself with her English enemies in the process—drew the wrath of Madrid academician Victor Barrantes, and his account of friar responsibility for Silang's assassination roused *indio*-baiting "Quioquiap" Feced to anguished cries of "Libel"! (Isabelo replied with innocent logic, "If they advised Vicos to assassinate Silang, they believed they were complying with a patriotic duty.")⁸ And his analysis of the 1807 revolt made use of terminology which must have slipped through censorship in a momentary lapse of vigilance: "Revolutions are caused by concentrated grievances: when the atmosphere gets heavy enough, any little pretext can set off the explosion of the storm; but the pretext is not the real cause."⁹

But Isabelo did not need such provocative incidents as uprisings and revolts to insert his *patriotismo* between the lines. He could refer to the plight of oppressed tenants with outbursts like "Oh, it is cruel, truly inhuman, the treatment that some rich people give our tenants—who are their own brothers and fellow countrymen!"¹⁰ and he often included items in the Ilocano columns of his paper which did not appear in Spanish, like "The white priests are going to ask for a salary of 400 pesos more than their [Filipino] assistants."¹¹ Indeed, it is hard to find an article of his which

⁶ *El Ilocano*, February 21, 1880.

⁷ *Taotao-en a nasayaat nga ammoen dagiti ilocano*, "Calendario ti 'El Ilocano' iti 1893.

⁸ *La Lectura Popular*, October 22, 1890.

⁹ *La Ilustración Filipina*, August 14, 1892.

¹⁰ *La Lectura Popular*, December 4, 1890.

¹¹ *El Ilocano*, May 16, 1890.

does not contain some subtle barb. The hero of a short story called "*Un idillo*" is a humble *pastor* who is able to quote philosophy because "he had been a student, but since only Latin was taught in Vigan and it's obvious you can't make a living off Latin, he had to become a *pastor*."¹² He was capable of carrying this deviousness to such extremes as an Easter Sunday citation of Christ's statement, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness to the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" as a condemnation of the judiciary use of torture.

Among the more advanced nations of Europe, the odious system is not followed in which admission of guilt is drawn from the criminal's own mouth by the use of extreme coercion. In England, judges and police agents investigate the suspect by means of testimonies and other proofs that he has committed the crime of which he is accused; but they do not attempt to wring a confession out of him by force; while Russia is considered a semi-barbaric nation for practicing the contrary. There are many who actually confess crimes they have not committed simply out of fear of violence. But here we see that the Redeemer himself laid it down that the accused is not obliged to denounce his own crime.¹³

Naturally Isabelo's journalistic career was a controversial one, and, in fact, he got into trouble even before he was an accredited reporter. While working in the *Oceanía Española's* shop, he attended a meeting of the Sculptors Guild to which the editor had refrained from sending a reporter because of the meeting's political implications; there Isabelo gave a talk as representative of the *Oceanía*—and was made to publish a public retraction the next day. *El Eco de Panay* published many of his literary pieces, but when he became their Manila correspondent, his news reports sounded so radical they had to dispense with his services and replace him with a Peninsular Spaniard. And when *La Opinión* began publication in 1887 as a frankly political daily, they hired anti-Filipino reactionary Camilo Millan on the one hand and Isabelo on the other to give balanced coverage.

Naturally, too, Isabelo attracted rather more attention from the censors than other writers. Retana's history of the Philippine press always refers to him with terms like *laborante* (conspirator) and his goals as *redentorista* (liberating), and comments on his editorship of *La Lectura Popular*:

¹² *La Ilustración Filipina*, October 28, 1892.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1892.

He wasn't slow in making it a seedbed and propagator of "useful information," among which his writers, almost all native Filipinos, inserted plenty of little items of questionable intent.¹⁴

When Spain dispatched troops to the Caroline Islands in 1885 to put down a native uprising, Isabelo covered the event in a release for a Visayan paper which described the Spanish soldiers as having ridden out to the troopship anchored in the Bay in comfortable steam launches while Filipino troops were delivered on lighters in the broiling sun "like cargo." The fact was that the Spaniards in the steam launches were officers, while the barges carried not only Filipino troops but Spanish soldiers as well. The uproar which this inaccurate reporting caused in Manila resulted in a new censorship decree requiring all provincial releases to be cleared in Manila first. Isabelo was probably the only person to have had a censorship decree promulgated on his behalf alone. It is a distinction any nationalist might be proud of.

It was all this attention from the Board of Censors that taught Isabelo to write between the lines with his tongue in his cheek, and honed both his sarcasm and his subtlety. His "*Triunfos del Rosario*" pleased the Dominicans enough to reprint in Spain, though careful reading makes it clear the author doesn't believe in the miracle he is celebrating. "*El Diablo en Filipinas*"¹⁵ presents a simple-minded but pious *provinciano* who defends his belief in ghosts and evil spirits by quoting examples of Spanish friars who saw and heard apparitions of the Devil, and cites volume, chapter, and page number from their own chronicles as evidence—from which Isabelo wickedly concludes that it must have been the friars who introduced the Devil into the Philippines. Perhaps the prize of this genre is an amusing story he himself called "pure *filibusterismo* (subversion)" but managed to place in several papers under different titles. It is the story of Isio.

Isio is a local boy who makes good in the indigo business by dint of hard work and thrift and is therefore appointed *gobernadorcillo*, an office he considers an honorable opportunity to serve his people. But he quickly learns that such appointments are only means by which higher officials mulct lower ones: one of his predecessors lost an arm chasing bandits, some were imprisoned, and all were ruined. For a while he struggles idealistically against a corrupt system, but when he finally takes to the

¹⁴ Retana, *Aparato*, vol. 3, p. 1678.

hills and becomes a kind of Robin Hood among the Igorots, the message is clear: pretensions to law and justice in the colony are simply "administrative folklore." The tale is a naughty expose but was rendered so subtle by its comic dialogue that the reactionary *Diario de Manila* published it without realizing its implications.

When the Revolution broke out in 1896, Isabelo's name had been appearing in the Philippine press more frequently than that of any other Filipino. It was therefore not surprising—though Isabelo claimed to be—that he was arrested a few weeks before Jose Rizal's execution. If the highest accolade a nationalist can win from an oppressive regime is execution, the next best must be deportation. Isabelo de los Reyes was lucky to have placed second.

* * *

When Isabelo de los Reyes was a college student, Europe entered its final surge of colonial aggression in Africa and Asia, and her savants struggled to produce a "scientific" explanation for the phenomenon—or at least one that would be morally acceptable. Most of them agreed on a frankly racist answer: some peoples were simply predestined by nature, or Divine Providence, to conquer, and others to be conquered. Conversely, cultural inequalities in modern societies were explained by racial differences. Thus the reason some Filipinos wore G-strings and others did not was that their ancestors were genetically different from one another. Against this background, Blumentritt hypothesized in his 1882 *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* (*Attempt at a Philippine ethnography*) that Filipino tribal traits arose from three separate migrations into the archipelago. First came the pygmy Negritos, and then two waves of brown-skinned types, the earlier of which practiced head-hunting but not the latter. It was to find out where the Tinguians belonged that he first wrote the young Ilocano, and Isabelo had responded with an article based on observations made during a trip to Abra in the summer vacation of 1881.

But Isabelo himself would have none of these racist theories. To him the Filipino people were one people. He thought so intuitively, by historic study of their similarities, and because none of the European theories could produce supporting evidence. In his first article to be published in Spain, he called himself "brother of the wild Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguians,"¹⁵ and later

¹⁵ Cited in *El Folklore Filipino* (Manila 1889), vol. 1, p. 8.

facetiously asked Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, "You say you are my countryman; were you perhaps born in the mountains of Abra?"¹⁶ And in the *Historia de Ilocos*, he stated boldly:

The insignificant differences which exist between the partly civilized Ilocano, the Tinguian who wears pants and jacket, the pacified Igorot who though still naked has lost his unsociable and cruel nature, and the runaway fugitives with their savage customs—these differences are simply the effects of the places where they live, and they appear civilized or savage according to their being near or far from places frequented by Spaniards or civilized Ilocanos.¹⁷

Isabelo was the only Filipino to involve himself in the scientific debate, and he published his views in *Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista*, *Historia de Ilocos*, and the first volume ("Prehistoria") of his uncompleted *Historia de Filipinas*, and serialized them as "Origen de las Razas filipinas" in *La Ilustración Filipina*. While his Propagandist compatriots in Spain were trying to reconstruct—or invent—a prehispanic Philippines which would make their ancestors acceptable by European standards, Isabelo was bringing to light precisely those customs which distinguished Filipinos from Europeans. He infuriated Rizal by suggesting that patriotic enthusiasm may have moved him to picture an ancient Filipino culture more advanced than the facts warranted, and he frankly called Pedro Paterno's *La antigua Civilización de Filipinas* (with its American, Armenian, Chinese, Egyptian, European, Indian, Japanese, and Persian origins) just what it was—"fiction." He himself wrote that at the time of the Conquest, "Visayan pirates were even more terrible than the Mohammedans of Jolo and Mindanao: every year after harvest they would set sail for nearby parts to hunt slaves,"¹⁸ and discussed the price they paid for slaves—Was it ten pesos as Martín de Rada said, or ten *taes* (i.e., 80 pesos) as Morga said? One can only imagine the reaction of his province-mates when he claimed that human sacrifices were still being performed in Ilocos Norte.

Isabelo's "Origin of the Filipino races" begins with a review of earlier theories—e.g., that Visayans came from Macassar, Tagalogs from Ternate, Pampangueños from Sumatra, and Igorots, Tinguians, and Zambals from Malabar and Coromandel in the Dekkan of the Indian sub-continent. Then he attacks modern ones

¹⁶ *La Oceanía Española*, March 21, 1886.

¹⁷ *Historia de Ilocos* (Manila 1890), vol. 1, p. 37.

¹⁸ *Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista* (Iloilo 1887), p. 36.

like Zuñiga's that they all came from the American continents, Raymundo Geler's that they are descended from Arabs, and, finally, the Darwinians' that Filipino Negritos are the descendants of Haeckel's *Homo Pithecoïdes*, who, in turn, was the descendant of an ape. Then he responds to Montano's three-zone theory which was Blumentritt's starting point—(1) the remote interior of the islands inhabited by Negritos driven there by (2) Malays now inhabiting the foothills, where they were driven by (3) Indonesians now occupying the coastal plains. Isabelo points out that it is a simple fact that the interior heights of the Philippine Islands are inhabited mainly by non-Negrito tribes, that Negritos are found both in the foothills and on the seacoasts, and that no zone is monopolized by any one physical type. Besides, he adds:

What does "Indonesian" mean? Where do they live? Is there a country called Indonesia? No: Indonesia or Indonesian is a name recently invented to classify the numerous [language] branches of the Malay race, similar to terms like Germanic, Slavic, Latin, etc. The majority of ethnographers have not adopted this classification, and even among those who have, there is no unanimous opinion about which races belong to it.¹⁹

The "Origin of the Filipino races" was an impressive performance: after almost a century of further speculation by scholars, its final conclusions still stand—to his credit and our embarrassment:

We will conclude this chapter by saying in resume: first, that there is no definite proof that the Aetas were the aborigines of the Archipelago, though it is possible that they were; second, that the lighter-colored natives of the Philippines are undoubtedly Malays, but that the Malays in general, both in this country and in Sumatra and elsewhere, have an unknown origin, like the Aetas, and that the date when they reached these shores is also unknown; and third, regarding Chinese mestizos, Spanish mestizos, etc., their very names tell their origins, but these admixtures did not take place before the Spanish conquest.²⁰

But Montano and Blumentritt won out in the end. A new colonial regime not only revived their racist theory but expanded

¹⁹ *Historia de Filipinas* (Manila 1889), vol. 1, p. 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

it into a full dozen waves washing migrants up on Philippine shores, each one superior to the one that preceded it. Accepted as comforting fact by the American authorities, it was incorporated into the Philippine school system where it has been lovingly preserved by Filipino educators who are persuaded their own ancestors came in the last wave. Thus, ironically, Isabelo's children and grandchildren grew up believing that neither they nor he were brother to wild Aetas, Igorots, or Tinguians, but, rather, that their ancestors all came in different boatloads.

* * *

Isabelo de los Reyes never joined any revolutionary society. He contributed financially to the Liga Filipina but did not become a member, and although he claimed he did not even know of the existence of the Katipunan, he sold types from his shop to its organ, *Kalayaan*. But with his reputation, his arrest was inevitable, and he was caught up in a Vigan witch hunt in which a 60-year-old Filipino priest was beaten into testifying that he had been inducted into Masonry by Isabelo de los Reyes. Incarcerated in Bilibid Prison, he luckily escaped both torture and execution, and made good use of his time. His 300 cellmates were revolutionaries of every stripe—innocent and guilty, ranking officers of the Liga and the Katipunan soon to be executed, bourgeois Masons and ordinary peasants. From interviews with such prisoners, he wrote a series of articles which he edited as a *Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina* for newly arrived Governor General Ferdinand Primo de Rivera. It was widely read and widely circulated. Miguel Morayta thought it influenced Primo de Rivera's acceptance of reforms at Biyak-na-Bato, and Overseas Minister Segismundo Moret accepted it as credentials for employing Isabelo in the Ministry the next year. It appeared in the Spanish press, was published in book form with the word *sensacional* added to its title, and remains to this day a valuable and largely unexploited source for the study of the Philippine Revolution.²¹

²¹ Several copies of the original *Memoria* were made in Bilibid, one of which was given to Chaplain Luis Viza, S.J., and wound up in the Jesuit archives in San Cugat, Barcelona, Spain: a microfilm copy appears in Reel 46 of the "St. Louis Collection," Item E-II-e, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University; and Governor Primo de Rivera sent a copy to the Overseas Ministry where it was set in type but evidently never printed. It was serialized in *El Republicano* in 1898, and reprinted in such diverse papers as the Madrid *El Nuevo Régimen*, Cádiz *La República*, Huelva *La Marsellesa*, Tarragona *El Francoli*, and Segovia *La Democracia*. The definitive edition appeared in 1899 (Tip. Lit. de J. Corrales, Madrid) with an introduction by Miguel Morayta, profuse annotation and autobiographical appendix, and such new

What immediately attracts the attention about the *Memoria* is the personal nature of its sources and the boldness of its examples. Its description of the organization and initiation rites of the Katipunan, for example, comes from men like founder Ladislao Diwa, and an incident at Balintawak is provided by eyewitness Pedro Nicodemus. Liga founder Domingo Franco is quoted as predicting, "It's going to be a long and bloody madness, and I don't approve of it; nonetheless, it's sure to be a magnificent page in Philippine history, a very useful lesson for all in its unexpected results."²² Agricultural tenancy abuses are illustrated with actual examples and figures, and so much attention is paid to friar misdeeds that they have to be covered by separate orders—Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, and Recollect. Tortures suffered by men able to display the results are listed in detail, and include what may well be the earliest record of electricity being applied to male genitals. The role of the Spanish press in inciting revolt through innuendo and insult is surveyed as only a practicing journalist could. Comparisons with Cuba and Puerto Rico are suggestively raised, and reforms are demanded with ominous quotations like Victor Hugo's "Whom Providence executes, she herself blindfolds."²³ The *Memoria* richly deserves the adjective *sensacional*.

Considering the circumstances under which it was written, the *Memoria* often sounds suicidally bold, its audacity but thinly veiled by a cloak of "loyal opposition." Rizal's final poem, for example—which was circulating inside Bilibid a week after it was written—is presented with the statement, "I insert it here so that the author's political ideals may be seen, which were always clothed in poetic garb like the politics of Victor Hugo, the greatest poet of the century, who with his lyre overturned the throne of the Bónapartes and Orleanes."²⁴ And just ten days after his fellow alumnus had been shot as a traitor, his funeral forbidden and his remains disposed of like a common criminal's, Isabelo asked:

Did Spain gain anything by shooting him? The injustice of his death is still being whispered; undoubtedly the Spaniards would have gained more by sparing his life, for then his great popularity would have been contrasted with Spanish magnanimity. At least, I do not believe that they gained any-

data as a history of Philippine Masonry based on information from Antonio Maria Regidor.

²² *Memoria*, p. 42.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

thing with his death. On the contrary, to the impartial observer, his sympathetic and gallant figure rises above his tribunal's shortness of vision and smallness of spirit, and will soon arise in the legends of his country—a young man who sacrificed on the altar of his country his great talent, his mind and valor, his career and the fortunes of his family, his youth and his life, even, in short, his natural passions.²⁵

The main purpose of the *Memoria* is to persuade its readers that the whole debacle of the Revolution was caused by the iniquity of the friar orders. According to this scenario, a few Tagalog peasants revolted against oppressive friar landlords, and then the friars themselves spread the action to the surrounding provinces by witch hunts which drove innocent farmers and *ilustrados* alike into the rebel camp to escape torture, deportation, or musketry. The solution is therefore to get rid of the friars and institute a series of administrative, economic, educational, and judiciary reforms which are spelled out in orderly sequence, not omitting even such details as prices and salaries. (Its list of popular complaints was included in a footnote to Retana's *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal*, and is probably the "*Memoria de agravios de los Filipinos*" Isabelo's ten-year-old son Jose sneaked out of Bilibid in his shoe and mailed to the Governor.) The argument concludes with a bald threat of violence:

General Polavieja himself knew that in this second phase of the campaign, the insurgents will adopt the Cuban system of guerrilla warfare, their object being to force Spain to maintain a large army in this country with garrisons in all the towns and barrios of the archipelago, and to defeat her by economic exhaustion. And even if the insurrection is defeated this time, it will quickly break out again in more formidable proportions and perhaps with the necessary sectors of the population which it now lacks, because it is impossible that the richer elements, the bourgeoisie and *ilustrados*, who were falsely implicated and imprisoned in the present revolt, will quickly forget their grievances unless they are given justice by expelling their tormentors and granting them their political rights as true Spanish citizens.²⁶

It was a rather breathtaking ultimatum to come from a prisoner to the very state that was his jailor. It formed the con-

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 33-34.

clusion of Part One of the *Memoria* which was sent to the Governor on April 25, 1897. On May 17, the King's birthday, Isabelo was released, and took his six small children to his father-in-law's in Malabon, his wife having died while he was incarcerated. There he rewrote his ultimatum as a subversive document in Tagalog urging "the valiant sons of the Philippines" to take to the hills for guerrilla warfare. Soon afterwards, it was given clandestine circulation over the signature of Emilio Aguinaldo—to Isabelo's surprise, delight, and lasting pride.²⁷ Then he reworked a series of articles he had originally written in Bilibid with hopes for publication in Spain, and personally delivered them to the Governor on May 31 as Part Two. He was re-arrested the following day and deported.

* * *

Montjuich Castle in Barcelona was a notorious bastille whose torture chambers had made it the object of a scurrilous press campaign all over Europe. Isabelo de los Reyes arrived early in August 1897, and was placed in solitary confinement. He had hardly been locked in his cell, however, when another prisoner sneaked in to see him. He was radical journalist Ignacio Bo y Singla, held without charge but suspected of anarchy, and he welcomed Isabelo's case as ammunition in the anti-government cause. ("Thus is justice administered in the Philippines!" cried *El Republicano*.)²⁸ The radical press had means of smuggling Isabelo's own exposes out of Montjuich and into print, so his ideas about colonial reforms were quickly broadcast with the romantic aura about them of a victim of political persecution. By the time the Treaty of Biyak-na-Bato was signed, Overseas Minister Moret was persuaded that the colony could only be retained by major concessions, and when Isabelo was released on January 9, 1898, he was given a minor position in the Ministry.

Isabelo's appointment elicited lively response from a different segment of the press. The Manila *Kon Leche* sneered, "Moret converted the good Filipino typesetter into his courtier and inti-

²⁷ It actually appeared first over the signature "Malabar," but had Aguinaldo's name attached in an English version which appeared in the Yokohama *Anunciador diario del Japon* (*The Daily Advertiser of Japan*) on August 10, 1897, which then circulated in a Spanish translation in Spain (e.g., *La Política de España en Filipinas*, October 31, 1897) and which, in turn, was retranslated into English by John R.M. Taylor (*The Philippine Insurrection against the United States*, vol. 1, pp. 372-373) with the addition of a date which appears in none of the earlier versions—September 6, 1897.

²⁸ Cited in *Memoria*, p. 12, n. 1.

mate councilor,"²⁹ but the *Diario de Barcelona* more soberly commented, "Moret, advised by Isabelo, is preparing another shameful defeat for Spain in her colonies."³⁰ And that, as a matter of fact, was just what Isabelo had in mind. For, if it was obvious that Spain was still threatened with revolution in the Philippines, it was also obvious that the United States of America was headed for war with Spain. It was against these political realities that Isabelo developed his campaign.

If we Filipinos and Spaniards were united, it would be impossible for the North Americans to land in the Philippines, and after the war, as compensation for our loyal service, they would grant us autonomy with a Filipino militia. [And] if the friars managed to prevent these concessions, that would provide more than enough reason for us to revolt against Spain, and since we would already have the rifles, our independence would be assured and relatively easy, exhausted as Spain would be after so many wars.³¹

At the end of February, Isabelo managed to get newly appointed Governor Basilio Agustín to accede to concessions in a predeparture interview which he then rushed into print "so that the Governor-elect would not forget his promises." A month later, after fighting had broken out again in Luzon, Isabelo and a few other Filipinos offered to return to organize militia against Yankee invasion. And when Admiral Dewey began to outfit the U.S. Asiatic Squadron for action, Blumentritt joined him in writing to enlist Mariano Ponce and Faustino Lichauco in Hongkong in the campaign. The plan itself was well-conceived and probably militarily sound, and contact was actually established with the Spanish consulate—but Emilio Aguinaldo had other plans of his own.

Nothing daunted, Isabelo constituted himself a one-man propaganda bureau to win international sympathy for the Filipino cause, and the "news" he released during the next two years probably contained more fiction than the *Noli* and *Fili* combined. (Sample: "The Filipinos are armed to the teeth [and] already have 100,000 rifles from Japan, China, Hongkong, and Austria secretly landed in Pangasinan, Zambales, Batangas, and Camarines.")³² By October of 1899, however, it was obvious that President Agui-

²⁹ *The Kon Leche*, May 6, 1899.

³⁰ Cited in *Memoria*, pp. 120-21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³² *Correspondencia de España*, December 20, [23?], 1898.

naldo would have to disband the Philippine Army and take to the hills, so Isabelo intensified his campaign by opening a new paper, *Filipinas ante Europa*. (Blumentritt wrote approvingly, "Now we must redouble the power of our pens.")³³ For the Filipino nationalist, *Filipinas ante Europa* must have been one of the most interesting papers ever published.

Military news was smuggled out of the Philippines on flimsy paper, forwarded through Hongkong, and published with Isabelo's political analyses. Aguinaldo's *Reseña Verídica* was serialized, and short biographies of Filipino heroes were accompanied by portraits and vignettes based on Isabelo's personal recollections. Feature articles stressed educational innovations, social amelioration, and political consciousness. One series continued the anti-friar campaign, called Jesus Christ "the greatest revolutionary the world has even known,"³⁴ and attacked the Papacy so viciously the Editor was sentenced to jail and fined by the state Fiscal, but pardoned by the Queen. Another series on the techniques of guerrilla warfare was later cited by General Arthur MacArthur as evidence that the Philippine campaign was being directed from Spain. Appeals to faint-hearted *ilustrados* warned that "the cowardice of the intellectuals will get them nothing more than their own perdition, as was proved when the Katipunan triumphed everywhere while the intellectuals died without glory, shot on the field of Bagong Bayan."³⁵ Those who accepted positions in the American occupation he flayed with rhetoric like, "How can you understand a monstrosity of nature who would assassinate his own mother and father, and ally himself with their hangmen?"³⁶

Isabelo's slashing attacks on American aggression were a far cry from that Saint Andrew's Day article which gently pricked the tender skin of Spanish imperialism. Indeed, not for another 60 years were Americans to read such chilling Filipino sentiments. An essay entitled, "Is it legitimate to kill a tyrant?" for example, answered in the affirmative, and then went on to say:

Mr. McKinley, taking advantage of his powerful army, his formidable fleet, and his immense resources, has declared iniquitous war on a defenseless people such as the Filipinos are, and simply for a criminal ambition which tramples all justice, all rights, and all reason under foot, has killed and

³³ Letter dated December 27, 1899, cited in *Filipinas ante Europa*, October 1, 1901.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1900.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, February 25, 1901.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1900.

continues to kill thousands, not only of Filipinos, but of his own countrymen...

What recourse, then, remains to his poor victims if it is impossible to defeat his well-equipped armies?

Recently a plot was discovered to assassinate Mr. McKinley, contrived by some Cubans who say that this is the cheapest and surest way. We do not agree with them and cannot under any circumstances approve of violent death for any man, however criminal he may be.

But we consider it our duty to advise Mr. McKinley not to persist in his most dangerous undertaking of abusing the poor Filipinos by his immense power, because they in their desperation could cause him some very serious unpleasantness... [The Katipunan has already written], "Tell Mr. McKinley that he will be held *personally* responsible for the blood of the Filipinos if his abuse of power should go so far as to impose his ominous yoke on our archipelago."³⁷

The house of cards which Isabelo was struggling to support collapsed with Aguinaldo's oath of allegiance to the United States on April 1, 1901, and Isabelo soon found he could no longer get *Filipinas ante Europa* through American censorship. He therefore shifted his target back to colonial reforms and launched a new paper, *Defensor de Filipinas*. Its opening editorial was full of quotations like the Schurman Commission's "We have not come to dominate a people but to teach you to govern yourselves and to help you to be independent," and announced, "Very well, then, the object of this periodical is to demand compliance by the United States with these and other solemn promises of theirs."³⁸ Then, with the first four numbers in his luggage and strangely misplaced confidence in American press freedom in his heart, he sailed for the Philippines. He was quickly disabused when he reached Manila on October 17 and his application for a permit to publish was rejected on the ground of subversion.

If Isabelo was surprised, he should not have been. President McKinley had succumbed to an assassin's bullet on September 13.

* * *

Conclusion

José Rizal published an essay entitled "*Amor Patrio*" in the

³⁷ Ibid., August 10, 1900.

³⁸ *Defensor de Filipinas*, July 1, 1901.

Diariang Tagalog the year after Isabelo de los Reyes published "*La lealtad de los ilocanos a España*" in *El Comercio*. When Rizal wrote to Blumentritt for the first time, the Austrian savant was already a correspondent of Isabelo's, and when Rizal returned to the Philippines in 1892, he was carrying a letter from Blumentritt for Isabelo. *El Ilocano* was founded the same year as *La Solidaridad* and Rizal and Isabelo were the only Filipino propagandists to occupy cells in Montjuich Castle. If these details seem like gratuitous comparisons between a great literary genius and a mere newspaper hack, they at least call attention to the fact that both men were members of the Filipino Propaganda Movement. For it is as a Propagandist that the full measure can be taken of Isabelo's nationalism, and it is as a Propagandist that his career differed significantly from his colleagues' in Spain.

In the first place, Isabelo was a professional journalist who got paid for his labors, yet managed to plant his propaganda not only in *La Solidaridad* but in a dozen Manila periodicals under colonial censorship. He earned his living by his trade, and even set type for his own paper as a member of the Typesetters Guild. He met his deadlines year after year, lived frugally and invested his savings shrewdly, and so was able to make monthly contributions to the Liga Filipina to support *La Solidaridad*. He argued in print with scholars and publishers, criticized the powerful and the pious, and antagonized governors, bishops, and archbishops. He wrote under constant threat of censure, dismissal, or imprisonment, and was finally exiled, as Retana said, "for having spoken his mind and feelings to General Primo de Rivera."³⁹

Isabelo had a unique view of the Filipino people as one people, Igorot and *ilustrado* alike. Where his townmate Father Burgos and his schoolmate Dr. Rizal had cited anthropological opinion to show that Filipinos were not racially inferior to Europeans, Isabelo wrote, "There are Aetas who surpass the Tagalogs in intelligence, and it is recognized that the Tagalogs are at the same intellectual level as the Europeans."⁴⁰ More of his propaganda was directed to Filipinos than to Spaniards: what he called "useful information" included details like penal and cadastral codes, and administrative expenditures and extravagances. He founded *El Municipio Filipino* one month after the appearance of the law journal, *La Legislación*, to enable the ordinary reader to understand his rights under the law.

In Spain, Isabelo was politically conscious enough to identify the depressed conditions of the Spanish masses with the oppres-

³⁹ Retana, *Aparato*, vol. 3, p. 1418.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Retana, *Sinapismos*, p. 43.

sion of the Filipino people and peasantry. Though he married an Army officer's daughter and worked in a government office, he read Marx and Malatesta and wrote for the leftist press, hobnobbed with anarchists and labor leaders, and participated in rallies and public protests. He carried a revolver, got his nose bloodied in a demonstration, and marched in the streets of Madrid alongside a future Prime Minister of Spain. And he came home with new ideas about union organizing and social legislation, and the Spanish workers' cry ringing in his ears, "*Guerra al hambre y analfabetismo!* (War on hunger and illiteracy!)"

And, finally, Isabelo survived the Revolution to continue the campaign against a colonial antagonist even more powerful and canny than Spain. When his dream of a Filipino-Spanish anti-American alliance was aborted by the Treaty of Paris, he agilely shifted to another goal—independence in exchange for commercial concessions. (As he said in a press interview when Filipino-American hostilities broke out in February 1899, "The United States is very much mistaken if she sends soldiers instead of industrial and trade unions.")⁴¹ And when this goal could not be obtained by armed struggle, he came home to pursue it by political means, carrying with him the blueprint for a Nacionalista party complete with organization plans, publicity campaigns, fund-raising schemes, and centers for politicizing Filipino voters.

But, of course, it was not to be. Isabelo never lived to see the bargain struck, and 1901 was no year for nationalists in the Philippines. By that time, national destiny was already being shaped by a gentlemanly class of Filipino realists, opportunists and sycophants—to use less colorful language than Isabelo did. The great Propagandists like Rizal did not survive to be measured against such standards of temptation, compromise, and self-service. Yet it was precisely the presence of those coopted colonial subjects, and the uninspired and uninspiring example of their behavior, which most clearly illuminates the stubborn nationalism of that young *provinciano* who broke into print 20 years before as a one-man Chamber of Commerce for his beloved Ilocos.

Jose Rizal has been called "The First Filipino." A good case could be made for calling Isabelo de los Reyes "The First Filipino Nationalist."

⁴¹ *La Correspondencia de España*, February 7, 1899.

A Minority Reaction to American Imperialism: Isabelo de los Reyes

A few days after Spanish Manila surrendered to American forces on 13 August 1898, Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera presented himself to French-speaking General Francis V. Greene. From that moment on, he later told President William McKinley,

I have completely and most actively occupied myself in politics, employing all my energies for the establishment of American sovereignty in this country for the good of these ignorant and uncivilized people.¹

As soon as war broke out between Filipino and American forces, others of Pardo de Tavera's social class and intellectual accomplishments followed his lead, and gradually Filipino leaders of lesser standing took the same course. Eventually their movement became a landslide which carried a leaderless Filipino people into acquiescence or cooperation with a new colonial master. Their descendants today are acquiring academic degrees in American universities at Filipino taxpayers' expense, laboring at depressed wages in American agribusinesses, or standing in line in front of the American Embassy in hopes of renouncing their citizenship and claim to a patrimony they never enjoyed. Thus Pardo de Tavera would appear to have been a distinguished harbinger of what would eventually become the majority Filipino reaction to American occupation.

But during this process, was there no public expression of any minority reaction to American imperialism? In fact, there was. It was voiced by a small group of stubborn patriot-journalists who never broke the English language barrier but kept chipping away in Spanish at the alien monolith being erected on their soil. Too individualistic to unite but not virtuoso enough to be called *prima donnas*, they neither presented a threat to the majority

¹ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos, the Crisis of the Republic* (Manila 1960), p. 375, citing letter of 30 July 1899, McKinley Papers, 1899, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

trend nor got their names in history books as literary protagonists of a lost cause. Chief among them was Isabelo de los Reyes, Sr.—not chief in the sense of being their leader, for they were men by nature disinclined to follow leadership, but as being the most prolific, visible, and audible among them, and the longest lasting. Before the Spanish-American War even began, he was predicting that America would be a worse colonial master than Spain, and forty years later, his speech impaired by old age and his hand unsteady, he was advising members of the Constitutional Convention to resist American blandishments. Hardly a day passed in between in which he did not criticize the American regime or its Filipino supporters.

Isabelo de los Reyes was not in the Philippines at the time of the American invasion. He had been deported to Spain during the Revolution of 1896-1897 and incarcerated in Montjuich Castle. Following the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato, however, he was released, and after the Battle of Manila Bay he began a modest campaign in the Spanish press against American occupation of the archipelago. He played up the difficulty of occupying a whole archipelago by armed force, exaggerated Filipino unity behind "idol of the Revolution" Emilio Aguinaldo, and virtually hammered on the theme of America's democratic and non-colonial traditions. He was hoping to gain European sympathy for Spain at the peace table in Paris, reasoning quite correctly that it would be easier to win independence from a moribund empire than from an expanding industrial giant. Ironically, the radical press which supported him in Spain had the opposite goal of discrediting that regime, and their efforts helped deprive Spain of French, English, and German support in Paris.

Once the Treaty of Paris was signed, Isabelo joined the Filipino Republican Committee of Madrid, intensified his propaganda, and expanded his correspondence with the leading Filipino patriots in Paris and Hongkong. Ferdinand Blumentritt joined him in trying to persuade the Filipino exiles in Hongkong not to cooperate with the Americans, and Mariano Ponce and Faustino Lichauco later informed him that they had tried to dissuade Aguinaldo from doing so on the grounds that the Americans would not put their promises in writing. Many of his favorite themes about American leadership came from this correspondence. Felipe Agoncillo, for example, wrote him from Paris:

If that bandit McKinley had not committed the crime—it can be called nothing less—of secretly ordering his lackey Otis to start hostilities between Filipinos and Americans on the

fourth of last February, day of eternal bitterness for our country, my diplomatic triumph in the United States would have been an indisputable fact.²

And from Louvain, Jose Luzuriaga sent a quotation from one of McKinley's speeches which Isabelo was never to let his readers forget:

This Treaty places the Filipinos in experienced hands, under the liberal ideas and higher education which they will receive from the Americans, not as their masters but as their liberators.³

Isabelo was sick in bed when he received the mistaken report that Filipino forces had attacked the American lines on 4 February 1899. Like the creative propagandist he was, he got right up and dashed off an article for the *Correspondencia de España* which began as follows:

WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES. *Yankees are wrong, too.* We have just spoken with a reliable Filipino who apparently receives news directly from his countrymen, and he says that the surprise attack by the Filipinos against the Yankee lines can be understood as the result of the atrocities and crimes committed over there every day by Yankee soldiers, simple adventurers recruited on the waterfronts of San Francisco and neighboring ports.⁴

As the year wore on and Filipino reverses increased, Isabelo's anti-American propaganda grew more shrill. Finally, he decided to publish a paper for clandestine circulation in the Philippines, to represent the overseas Filipino committees.

The paper was called *Filipinas ante Europa* and it was more sensational than any of the Philippine government publications, and much more interesting. It appeared in the same month President Aguinaldo decided to disband the Philippine army and take to the hills, and its maiden issue was said to have brought tears to the eyes of men returning from the field of battle with its quotations from Rizal. It featured serious works like Aguinaldo's *Reseña Verídica* serialized and Antonio Maria Regidor's account

² Letter dated 7 October 1899. Archives of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City, OM 15 (1897-1931), Box 50, Folder 129.

³ Letter dated 30 September 1899, IFI Archives, OM 18.1 (1899-1948), Box 61, Folder 124.

⁴ *La Correspondencia de España*, 7 February 1899.

of the Cavite Uprising, as well as battle reports from commanders in the field which were probably no more inaccurate than those issued by their opponents. News of military abuses in Manila was smuggled out from agents with code names like "Pasig" and "Captain Crame," and editorials called for liquidation of traitors, labeled Filipino employees of the enemy "monstrosities of nature," and baldly warned the American President against assassination. And lest the message be lost, he published a collection of its choicest items as *Filipinas ¡Independencia y Revolución!* with a covering letter to President McKinley ending with the words, "*César, morituri te salutant* (Caesar, we who are about to die, salute you.)"⁵

As editor, publisher and staff of the propaganda arm of a guerrilla movement, Isabelo was in his element. Since the time of his own incarceration in 1896, he had been recommending Cuban-style guerrilla action as the best means for bringing Spain to her knees, and in May 1897 wrote a Tagalog appeal to "The Brave Sons of the Philippines" which was widely circulated over Aguinaldo's signature.⁶ Now he filled *Filipinas ante Europa* with so many articles on guerrilla techniques, including several from Cuban practitioners, that General Arthur MacArthur suspected the Philippine campaign was being directed from Madrid. He also published a second, enlarged edition of his *La Religión del Katipunan* when that brotherhood revived in early 1900, printed in Madrid but filled with advertisements for business houses in the Philippines. Copies were seized in bundles by American forces in the Ilocos, together with sheafs of Katipunan oaths signed in blood. It is small wonder that Isabelo's Manila residence was raided, men were arrested for possessing his publications, and postal clerks could recognize his handwriting on mail from Madrid. Nor is it surprising that few copies have survived: as Retana said of *Filipinas ante Europa*, "The American authorities persecuted this biweekly even more than the Spaniards had persecuted *La Solidaridad*."⁷

⁵ *Filipinas ¡Independencia y Revolución!* (Madrid 1900), p. 190.

⁶ It actually appeared first over the signature "Malabar" (John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* [New York 1899], pp. 542-543), but had Aguinaldo's name attached in an English version which appeared in the *Yokohama Japan Times Daily Advertiser* (*Anunciador diario del Japón*) on 10 August 1897, which then circulated in a Spanish translation in Spain (e.g., *La Política de España en Filipinas*, 31 October 1897) which, in turn, was retranslated into English by John R. M. Taylor (*The Philippine Insurrection against the United States* [Pasay City 1971], vol. 1, pp. 372-373) with the addition of a date which appears in none of the earlier versions—6 September 1897.

⁷ Wenceslao E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid 1906), vol. 3, p. 1415.

But once Aguinaldo surrendered to the enemy in April 1901, *Filipinas ante Europa* found itself with little government to support. The Filipino Committees in Hongkong and Europe held on to their sad dreams of independence for some time, and finally on 20 September, attempted to form a government in exile in London with Isabelo as Minister of the Interior. But Isabelo was already on board the steamer *Montevideo* bound for the Philippines. He had sailed from Barcelona two days before, determined to continue the struggle in the colonial capital itself.

Isabelo's quixotic plan was to unite all Filipino leaders in one nationalist party and then demand independence directly from the American government in Washington in exchange for commercial concessions. It was a plan flawed by three basic misconceptions on Isabelo's part. First, he did not realize that the leading Filipinos had already taken the American side so firmly that Governor Taft could safely disregard him as little more than a harmless nuisance. Second, he did not notice that the Filipinos had no concessions to offer Washington: the American government in international law was already the proprietor of the archipelago and its resources. And third and most important, he had no concept of the tenacity with which American business interests were determined to control the Philippine economy. He might have been better informed had he been reading the American press in Manila.

Back in 1898, for example, before the Treaty of Paris was even signed, the November 5 issue of the strangely misnamed *Freedom* carried an article called "Cheap living in Manila," which remarked, "It is always easier to get up from one's chair, ring a bell on the center table, and let a boy come to fetch you a book from the next room than it is to step across the threshold yourself."⁸ It also quoted *McClure's Magazine*: "Under a tropical sun, nature yields a wonderful wealth of good things, and by properly directed effort, the Malay and Chinese population can be made to reap golden harvests for their American masters."⁹ And a front-page feature entitled, "The Philippines and trade" spelled out the rationale behind the Battle of Manila Bay and the occupation of the Philippines:

Our commercial development, following the course of our territorial expansion, logically and inevitably, has expanded the vigor of our growth function internally, between the two oceans rather than externally upon either; but this inter-

⁸ *The Freedom*, 5 November 1898.

⁹ *Ibid.*

oceanic process having completed the subjugation of the obstacles to it, the energies of national growth became freed to operate upon new fields of activity...The extremities of the hardships to be endured, or the terrors or dangers to be confronted, do not enter into the national question of expansion at all [but rather] the outflow of national energy obeyed the laws implanted in the national organization as blindly and instinctively as do the swallows the laws of their migrations.¹⁰

It took Isabelo a little while to realize the difference between an American colony and a Spanish colony. Only a few years before, he had received a public hearing in Spain, General Aguinaldo had been feted after Biyak-na-Bato, and holdout rebel Francisco Makabulos had been offered a commission to organize militia. But now when Isabelo suggested such treatment for remnants of armed resistance, Police Superintendent Curry told him—jovially, one hopes—“You’re more of an enemy than Malvar.”¹¹ He had to abandon his dream of having heroes like Aguinaldo and Mabini appear in Washington when he realized that the Americans, far from regarding Aguinaldo as the former president of a republic, considered him a wily Malay chieftain who had hoodwinked the Filipino people for purposes of tribal gain. The *Manila Times* reported that McKinley was deluged with requests from carnival operators for permission to exhibit Aguinaldo in the United States (e.g., \$50,000 for a hundred nights, plus a bond to guarantee his safe return),¹² and the *Manila American* carried items like “Aguinaldo wants a guard to keep off the ghost of Luna,”¹³ and “It was only by granting amnesty to the Filipinos that the government could force Aguinaldo to go out and work for a living.”¹⁴ Nor was Isabelo any more successful in opposing the passage of the sedition law. Speaking in an open hearing of the Civil Commission, he argued that political crimes were not really crimes, backing himself into a corner from which he was forced to say that the recent assassination of King Umberto of Italy was no crime. After a moment of stunned silence, Dean C. Worcester told him to take his seat, and Commissioner Ide added, “And keep it, too.”¹⁵

It was as obvious to Isabelo as it was to everybody else who

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *El Tiempo*, 21 October 1901.

¹² Cited by *Libertas*, 23 May 1901.

¹³ *The Manila American*, 19 August 1902.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ U.S. Commission Minutes of Proceedings, 2 November 1901 Public Session, Subject: Treason Sedition Bill (typescript, unpag.).

hadn't been exposed to American textbooks that the Filipino people didn't want to be ruled by Americans. He tried to unleash the energy behind that sentiment by campaigning for a jury system, universal suffrage, and labor laws to liberate workers from their economic dependence and docility. In February 1902 he founded a labor union with social centers to politicize members, and filled the press with scolding articles about the mindless applause Filipinos gave to public speeches, and extolling Madrid street demonstrations in which working-class rowdies knocked fancy hats off the pompadoured heads of upper-class ladies. In August he founded the Philippine Independent Church, an organization whose very name included a word forbidden to all political bodies, which quickly gathered the momentum of a people's movement and attracted one-fifth of the total population. Its existence alone would have been enough to make the American regime wary of universal suffrage.

But even without a true electorate, Isabelo founded the Republican Party of the Philippines in 1905, just in time for the visit of a congressional committee come to assess Filipino competence for self-rule, which included former Governor Taft, now Secretary of War, and President Roosevelt's daughter Alice. The Republican Party had a nice name, an Aglipayan bishop for president, and nothing significant in the way of a platform. But it was an effective means for demonstrating that the dominant Federal Party's subservience to American designs did not represent the Filipino majority. Isabelo opened the attack in *El Grito del Pueblo* on 23 June 1905. "Autonomy?" he cried, referring to the Federalists' "three-period" plan for obtaining eventual independence. "Another impossibility!"

The Americans, or anybody else in their position, will never voluntarily let go of the frying pan once they have it by the handle. . . . They will only grant us real autonomy when, due to our improvidence and poverty, the country practically belongs to American builders, merchants, industrialists, landlords and proprietors. Only then will we have real autonomy. But it will not be for Filipinos but for the Americans naturalized here or their children, as happened in Australia and Canada, where they have autonomy because the population is white, while in India they do not, despite the fact that all three belong to the same sovereignty, for the simple reason that in the last case the population is *indios*.¹⁶

¹⁶ *¡Llueven Palos!* (Manila 1905), p. 23.

Then on 8 July, *El Grito* threw out a challenge. Let both parties hold public rallies on the Luneta when the Americans arrived, and if the Federalists could attract even half the number of followers the Republicans fielded, the Republican Party would dissolve itself; but if not, the Federal Party must ask the Americans for independence in ten years, lower taxes, a true legislature and jury system, and universal suffrage! The Federalists' *La Democracia* replied haughtily:

We willingly concede the field to *El Grito del Pueblo*. There are parties and then there are other parties. Superiority does not consist in numbers but in quality, and the power of opinion does not rest on the insolence of an irresponsible mob but on the discrete direction of the federal elements which are the foundation and guarantee of social, political, and, if you will, religious order.¹⁷

Isabelo responded the same afternoon. Pausing only to comment, "This word *irresponsible* was invented by Taft to immobilize all true independents; how well the Federalists have learned their papa's lesson," he struck the following telling blow:

We agree that there are parties and then other parties... [One, for example,] has no more power than that which its own master gives it, and we would like to see them defend him in the trenches in case he really needs them, for those who belong to him have already willingly belonged to Spain, the Philippine Government, and America according to convenience, just as they will join the ranks of the Japanese, Germans, or English if these should come to power in our land.¹⁸

Thus the congressional visit did not produce a colorful contest on the Luneta, but it did at least afford the chairman of the Republican Party an opportunity to pour Filipino grievances directly into the ears of American law-makers. It also provided invitations to dances and receptions in which he could pin little medals on senators' lapels with slogans like "The Philippines asks America's help for immediate independence,"¹⁹ and present Taft himself with an Ilocano fan which unfolded to display the forbidden Filipino flag. The first document received by the visiting dignitaries, as a matter of fact, had been a position paper by the Re-

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

publican Party—a manifesto *El Grito* published with the following introduction:

SWALLOW THIS, PAPA TAFT! We all know that our beloved Papa Taft doesn't like to hear—if it doesn't actually give him indigestion—that word “independence”...Be that as it may, our dear uncle had hardly reached the Bay when he boarded the press launch, and the first gift he received as a token of welcome was the following little bonbon, not of Alpine Swiss chocolate but of genuine Makiling.²⁰

A true Filipino electorate was still wanting when the first Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907. Isabelo thought such a body was ludicrous, hypocritical and treacherous—ludicrous because it had no power, hypocritical because its members spent their time dividing spoils, and treacherous because such an elitist body would never liberate the working class on which true independence would depend. If some political or social scientist were to study this legislative quadrille—or *Pandanggo sa Ilaw*—he could start no better place than Isabelo's contemporaneous articles in *El Renacimiento*. For the same reason, they are worth quoting at length here.

The Assembly opened on 16 October 1907 with Taft out from the United States to officiate. Naturally it was an occasion of many speeches—condescending, obsequious or pompous as the case might be—not excluding one by aristocratic luminary Pedro Paterno, oratorical veteran of Madrid, Biyak-na-Bato and Malolos. Isabelo was in Barcelona at the time, and their texts did not reach him until 7 December. His reactions were published in Manila on 14 January 1908.

Ah, Papa Taft, you are always intimidating us and taking us by the hair like naughty children! You give us the Philippine Assembly and at the same time threaten to suppress it if we make any opposition to the extravagances of the government, because, you said, Mr. Root was opposed to granting it and it is only to you that we owe our nice, new Assembly.

But how can Mr. Root be opposed to it when it was he who offered us through the first Commission a full autonomy which still cannot be found even with the lantern of Diogenes?

You yourself, dear Mr. Taft, admit in your speech that without those promises of political concessions it would have been “impossible” to pacify the country.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

Therefore, the Philippine Assembly is no favor which you are granting us, but only the niggardly compliance, by sleight-of-hand and very tardy, of the solemn promises of full autonomy which Schurman Commission even had posted on the trunks of trees in our forests...

You even announce that you are going to indemnify the friars for the occupation of the churches by the American army. All right: we will oppose it, because those churches belonged to the State, and if you are now going to hand out groundless indemnifications, sooner or later the Philippine Treasury will have to repay those superfluous expenses to the United States.

And with a frankness that takes our breath away, you state that you will accept the assembly only so long as it gives you gain, for simply by the Commission's disagreeing with it, the ruinous budgets will be continued.

But what kind of an assembly is it which lacks the indispensable right of regulating its own revenues and tariffs, of defending our poor workers from Asiatic immigration, of controlling public debts, the budgets of Manila, the franchise of railroads, concession of mines, customs duties and factories, and the sale of commodities?

And still you have to threaten us that if we raise our voices a little to defend our interests, you will deprive us of this *simulacro* of an assembly? Look, Mr. Taft, I will tell you: it might just as well be taken back if you are not willing to increase its insignificant authority: for musical comedies, the opera "*Magdapio*" of composer Paterno is enough for us.

And I will say to Señor Paterno that instead of applauding the military for having caused our banner to be outlawed, it would have served him better to have recalled his epic bursts of passion in the Malolos Assembly and asked for a rifle—or, better yet, a water-pistol—to fight them with. But what hurts me more than anything else is that on so solemn an occasion he could not even pronounce a single word of affectionate regard for that Malolos Assembly of imperishable memory, nor of poor Andrés Bonifacio, nor Rizal, nor Marcelo H. del Pilar, nor López Jaena, nor Señor Emilio Aguinaldo and his embattled hosts to whom, in fact, we owe our present liberty.²¹

Isabelo had already written, "The Constitution of the Assembly was born defective the moment it was elected not by universal

²¹ *El Renacimiento*, 14 January 1908.

suffrage but by the wealthy classes,"²² when he learned that the American government had increased the Assembly's per diem allowances. More in anguish than in anger, he branded the increment "thirty pieces of silver" and began a 25-year war on legislative venality, opportunism and timidity. He published a series of popular almanacs called *Kalendariong Maanghang* with advice to assemblymen which reached such pungent heights—or depths—as "If you can't stand up to the Civil Commission, what are you wearing pants for? Better put on a skirt,"²³ and "It's about time you stop *paglalangis sa americano* and defend the rights of our people."²⁴

And when he became a senator himself, he kept telling his colleagues that they had been elected to debate laws not dispense favors, and he once proposed a "Resolution to deprive committee members of salary and per diem who excessively delayed taking action on matters submitted to them."²⁵

But Isabelo's attacks on Filipino sycophancy did not mean that his American targets were forgotten. Nothing brought him quicker to the fray than the suspicion that taxes were being deployed for their business interests. In 1912, he crossed swords with an expert in city planning who happened also to be the President of the Businessmen's Association.

Thanks to the firecrackers I lit off, we have now learned that the hundred thousand pesos for which we are so grateful to Mr. Gilbert and Mr. McDonnel, supposedly for improving the poorer barrios and creating hygienic conditions, as was announced, we now learn, I repeat, will be used to convert those uninhabited foreshore swamps into urban districts and the inhabited barrios will be left in their present shameful neglect... Would you, as a real estate agent, care to tell us who are the real owners of those swamps?²⁶

And he could scent collusion with the sure nose of a bloodhound. Once when he was municipal councilor, the city engineer and city electrician submitted a bill from a fellow American for the installation of 181 street lights despite the fact that some of

²² Ibid., 24 March 1908.

²³ *Kalendariong Maanghang sa Taon 1911* (Manila 1911), unpag., "Sa mga Kinatawang Bayan."

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *Actas del Senado de Filipinas, Sexta Legislatura Filipina* (Manila 1924), p. 19.

²⁶ *El Comercio*, 16 August 1912."

them had not been installed due to "pilferage." Isabelo went out and counted them himself, and then gave his verdict: the Council would gladly pay for the 45 that had been installed, but by what earthly logic should it pay for the other 136? And, by the way, why had the contract been let out to Mr. McCoulough at ₱9.00 per lamp in the first place when Meralco had submitted a bid at ₱5.00 each?²⁷

Nor could American officials escape the heat of Isabelo's scrutiny by taking to the cool heights of Benguet: if they read Spanish, they could open their papers to headlines like "*Vacaneando en Baguio mientras el pueblo padece de hambre!*" (Vacationing in Baguio while the people hunger!)" One day in 1918, he telephoned Police Chief Hohman to ask him to do the favor of arresting the Chinese dealers who were selling rice at illegal prices. When the chief said he could do nothing because all the authorities were out of town, he threatened to air the matter in the press. "Please don't get violent," the chief said: he would consult the Mayor and see what could be done. "Very well," Isabelo replied, "and you can ask the Mayor for me what happened to the ₱50,000 the Municipal Council placed at his disposal to purchase rice from producers in the provinces for resale in Manila at cost."²⁸

By the time Isabelo was a senior citizen fondly called Don Belong, the laughter generated by such quixotic antics had drowned out the seriousness of his message. Yet his attempts to stem a tide which history would disingenuously call inevitable may have been either bullheaded or noble but they were not comic. The windmills at which he tilted were not the hallucinations of some latter-day Man of La Mancha, but the hard cold facts of colonial life. Many of the lessons he taught his contemporaries were so thoroughly—and eagerly—forgotten that they had to be learned all over again in our own time. Claro M. Recto was still in knee-pants when Isabelo wrote:

The imperialists need to open new railroads, bridges and highways for their military plans (Mr. Taft says explicitly that they will be constructed for "military purposes"); and to cure their numerous ailments like dysentery and an anemia due to the poor Philippine climate, they need to establish a summer resort in the mountainous region of Benguet; naturally many thousands are needed for these projects... [and] the Filipino people will be the ones to pay for it all; and as soon

²⁷ Ibid., 26 July 1913.

²⁸ *Vanguardia*, 18 March 1918.

as the cow gives more milk, they will have to cover the cost of the Army and Yankee employees, too.²⁹

Renato Constantino was not yet born when Isabelo said of Filipino politicians, "Now we will witness how, because of their negligence, the Americans will take possession of our means of livelihood until in the end we will find ourselves foreigners in our own land. And what need will we have of independence then?"³⁰ Thirty years later, when those same politicians could make a living simply by repeating the word "independence" often and loudly enough, he warned:

America isn't granting us independence for the sake of altruism, but to get rid of the competition of our products and our few immigrants who look for work there to earn a living, but, on the other hand, it will keep our capital and our best ports, and permanently deprive us of the best lands we inherited from our forefathers and recaptured from Spain at the cost of many lives, instead of having come to liberate us as America made us believe.³¹

Looking back across Don Belong's long career as a begrudging American subject, it is possible to see one personal experience which encapsulated the colonial experience of an entire people. It happened in 1902 when, for four short months, he acted out the role of tragic hero in a drama the American community considered a farce but which was really a kind of allegory like those "seditious plays" like *Walang Sugat* and *Hindi Ako Patay*.

In August of that year, as president of the Union Obrera Democratica, Belong was arrested on the testimony of paid witnesses that he had threatened the lives of three scabs during a strike against a German tobacco factory in Malabon. Probably nobody doubted the truth: the *Manila Freedom* unblushingly commented, "The tobacco firms have made up their mind there is more than one way to fight a strike."³² Isabelo was sentenced to four months; he appealed the case, lost the appeal, and was jailed. In the process, three Filipinos were caught in the dilemma that confronts all men, however good and decent, who accept employment from the enemy of their people: duty makes them accessory to dishonorable acts. The three men were Malabon

²⁹ *Filipinas ante Europa*, 10 November 1900.

³⁰ *El Grito del Pueblo*, 21 July 1905.

³¹ *Unión*, 11 April 1932.

³² *The Manila Freedom*, 19 August 1902.

Justice of the Peace Cipriano Rivera, Don Felix Roxas of the Fifth Judiciary District, and Governor Arturo Dancel of Rizal Province.

Rivera at least had the decency to be embarrassed: neither he nor his clerks could be found when American marshalls first delivered Isabelo to Malabon from the Parian Street Police Station. Dancel, a former patriot who had spread the Revolution of '96 to Nueva Ecija and was Isabelo's UST classmate, consigned him to Malabon jail instead of Bilibid and then quietly housed him in one of the salons of the *presidencia*. Roxas, who had been contributing to Isabelo's anti-American campaign from Paris only three years earlier, was called to the Ayuntamiento the day after Christmas and given instructions. The government had decided to hear the case "immediately," he recalled in his memoirs thirty years later, and so ordered a special session.³³ It is not difficult to conceive of a reason for the urgency: Isabelo was consigned to Bilibid on 29 December—just in time to prevent him from delivering a Rizal Day speech in Malabon.

But the speech was delivered anyway. Isabelo sent it out to be read in his place, and a crowd of laborers and sympathizers paid it rapt attention. The emotion-charged circumstances no doubt made it even more effective than it would have been had the author delivered it himself. It was in Tagalog and was, in fact, one of the best speeches Isabelo ever wrote. There was probably not a dry eye in the crowd when the following lines were read:

Cowardice is our greatest stumbling block. What are you afraid of if you are innocent? Ah, my brothers, Montesquieu said that the reason we are slaves is that we refuse to say No to unjustified and illegitimate claims and desires.

I repeat, my beloved countrymen, the best wreath we can offer Dr. Rizal is our collective effort to achieve what he himself died for—the liberation, progress, and well-being of our land. My brothers, let us unite. Let us not betray one another. Let us not destroy one another. Let us not feign praise for our superiors in hope of gain. Rather, let us be lovers of peace and righteousness. Let us transform ourselves into a community of people who can offer honor, dignity, and joy to our Motherland. In other words, let us all be true followers of Dr. Rizal. And we may then rest assured that in a not too distant future, the day of freedom and happiness

³³ *The World of Felix Roxas* (Manila 1970), p. 240, translating from his column, "De Ayer a Hoy" in *El Debate*.

will break forth upon our unfortunate land.³⁴

Whether they knew it or not, that Malabon audience had just heard the third-act aria of a real-life zarzuela about four Filipino reactions to American imperialism. It was an aria whose melody would not even linger on as another generation learned to dance to a new tune with lyrics imported from abroad.

³⁴ *Muling Pagsilang*, 2 January 1903. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Generoso Rosales for the translation.

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